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ABSTRACT

The general purpose of this project was to produce some reliable and valid knowledge of how differences in the non-linguistic aspects of North American and Latin American socio-cultural patterns (concepts, values, beliefs, norms, expectations, and ethnocentrism) act as barriers to cross-cultural communication. The end product was to be instructional materials which would contribute to understanding the general nature and socio-cultural contexts of communication, and, to provide concrete practical knowledge of roles played in various situational settings in Latin America. The field methods included the use of direct participant-observation, depth interviews and questionnaires. The subjects were 160 Colombians who interacted in varying degrees with 140 North American undergraduate students and Peace Corps Trainees. A "syllogistic model of meaning" was devised to treat all the concerns of linguistics, semantics, kinesics, proxemics, and paralinguistics. Socio-economic subcultures were not considered. To dramatize and disseminate the subject data of 5 reports summarized here, a prototype of the Cross-Cultural Communication Packet (CCCP) for training Americans was developed: Cross-Cultural Encounter in a Latin American Bank (SO 000 108). Other related documents are: ED 023 337, ED 023 338, and ED 023 339. (SBE)

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CONFLICTING ASSUMPTIONS AS BARRIERS TO INTER-AMERICAN COMMUNICATION

April 1970

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U.S. DEPARTMENT OF

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SO 000 107

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CONFLICTING ASSUMPTIONS AS BARRIERS TO INTER-AMERICAN COMMUNICATION

Project No. 7-0267
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Raymond L. Gorden

April 1970

The research reported herein was performed pursuant to contract with the Institute of International Studies of the U.S. Office of Education. Contractors undertaking such projects under Government sponsorship are encouraged to express freely their professional judgment in the conduct of the project. Points of view or opinions stated do not, therefore, necessarily represent official Office of Education position or policy.

Antioch College
Yellow Springs, Ohio
45387

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PREFACE

This Final Report is designed to simultaneously perform two functions. First, to give some detail on the progress since Progress Report No. 8 and, second, to give an overall view of the problem, methods, results and implications of the two-year project. In order to preserve the perspective of a final report we have relegated the details of the activities since the last progress report to Appendix A.

Acknowledgments

Unlike research in the natural sciences, studies of social behavior depend directly upon goodwill between the investigator and the other human beings involved in the data-collection process. This dependence is even more vital in cross-cultural studies where we must develop understanding between members of both cultures in order to carry out the investigation.

This investigator feels particularly fortunate to have had the high degree of interest, cooperation and support of many Colombians in the pursuit of objective but often subtle information.

Although space does not permit us to name all of the people who helped the project through its many stages of development, we feel compelled to mention a few whose cooperation was most generous and vital. Of those who assisted in collecting information from Colombian professors and others at the universities who deal with North American students, we would especially like to thank Dr. Jaime Villarreal, psychiatrist and Dean of Students at the Universidad de los Andes, Professor Antoine Kattah Fayad and Joseph Spagna of the Centro de Estudios Latinoamericano at the Universidad Javeriana, Dr. Federico Nebbia, Chairman of the Department of Sociology at the Universidad Nacional de Colombia and Sra. Charlotte A. de Samper, Foreign Student Advisor at the Universidad de los Andes.

Among the many who were helpful in gathering data from the Colombian host families, we mention Dra. Virginia Gutierrez de Pineda, authority on the Colombian family, who supplied competent Colombian interviewers, Dr. Lucy Cohen whose bilingual application of her anthropological training was essential in the protesting of interview guides, psychologist Blanca de Nebbia who helped in the revision and field testing of the interviews with the host families.

The interviewers who did the bulk of the field work with the Colombian host families were Rosina Buitrago, Carmenza Huyo and Obdulia de Ambrosio. Tulia Ruan de Hanka in addition to interviewing host families was an invaluable translator and general public relations assistant.

The processing of the finished materials including translating, transcribing, analysis, typing and reproduction of the final copy were efficiently and painstakingly carried out by the office team consisting of Mary Alvarez A., Mary Ann Gomez F., and Nohora Romero B. Their efforts were coordinated by my wife Charlotte. Much helpful advice was given by John Saunders and Louis Kriesberg who served as consultants on this project.

In addition we want to express our deep appreciation to all of the GLCA students, Peace Corps Trainees, Colombian professors, and host-family members who responded so willingly to interviews and questionnaires.

Foreigners are people somewhere else,

Natives are people at home;

If the place you're at is your habitat,

You're a foreigner, say, in Rome.

But the scales of justice balance true,

and tit only leads to tat.

So the man who's at home when he stays in Rome

Is abroad when he's where you're at.

From Ogden Nash,
"Goody for Our Side and Your Side Too"

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CONFLICTING ASSUMPTIONS AS BARRIERS TO INTER-AMERICAN COMMUNICATION

I. THE PRACTICAL PROBLEM[1]

We North Americans repeatedly have been reminded of the fact that we have difficulty in communicating with Latin Americans. American businessmen, Peace Corps Volunteers and tourists all have problems but none are so highly publicized as those encountered by our political leaders. Nelson Rockefeller, for example, obviously did not fare too well when President Nixon sent him on his fact-finding trips to South America in 1969.

In another decade in which Richard M. Nixon was Vice President, he made a speech at San Marcos University in Lima, Peru, which elicited a highly publicized barrage of stones thrown to the tune of "Yankee go home."[2] In this case the Peruvian students were incensed that a foreign politician was flagrantly violating their cultural patterns; he had come to the campus uninvited and had made a political speech - a thing the president of Peru himself would not be allowed to do. In addition, President Nixon was flanked by uniformed American army officers in a setting where Peru's own army or police officers were not allowed. The message from our then Vice President was intended to express hemispheric solidarity and goodwill. Actually the message received by the Peruvians was that "an arrogant Yankee was again showing desrespect for our cherished traditions."

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[1]This section of this report is based upon a paper prepared by the author for delivery at the meetings of the Society for the Study of Social Problems, San Francisco Hilton Hotel, August 31, 1969, with discussion by John Useem of Michigan State University.

[2]Edward T. Hall and William Foote Whyte, "Intercultural Communication: A Guide to Men of Action," Human Organization, Vol. 19, No. 1 (1960), pp. 5-12.

One does not have to be a Republican political leader to become entangled in miscommunication with the Latin Americans. A much less publicized event occurred in Santiago, Chile, a few years after Richard Nixon's San Marcos University incident. A speech by Robert F. Kennedy was greeted with a similar barrage of stones. According to Dr. Mario Saquel[3], the phrase in Senator Kennedy's speech which triggered the violent response was simply this: "Let us learn together!" Certainly the intent of this phrase was not to antagonize nor to express arrogance toward the Chileans. This cross-cultural communication problem had its roots in a long historical relationship between the powerful United States which has repeatedly used its military, political and economic might to coerce Latin American states to do its bidding. But the Latin American intellectuals are well aware that many of these maneuvers have been clothed in democratic or permissive verbiage such as "let us learn together."

Not only do U.S. officials manage to irritate nationals abroad, but also a careful study by the Social Science Research Institute of the University of Hawaii has shown that the Filipino's image of the Peace Corps Volunteer as a person and of the Peace Corps as a Program was better in those villages which had never seen a live Peace Corps Volunteer than in the villages where Volunteers had been serving for a year.[4] In this case it costs the American taxpayer over $3,000,000 to achieve this less favorable image.

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[3]A Chilean resident of Santiago mentioned this incident in his speech to the Latin American Symposium, University of Dayton, March 22, 1969.

[4]Frank Lynch (S. J.), Maretski, Thomas W., (et al), The Philippines Peace Corps Survey, (Mimeographed) Social Science Research Institute, University of Hawaii, 1966.

Often the assumption is that Americans who get these sorts of responses abroad are "ugly Americans" in the sense that they are somehow particularly insensitive or crude. It is not at all necessary to be insensitive or crude to miscommunicate with people of a very different culture. All we need to do is to project words and deeds without a clear understanding of the socio-cultural context the audience will use to interpret the "true meaning" of our behavior.

Sociological theory and the data we have been gathering over the past two years indicate that more conflict can be created by an American abroad who speaks the language well but knows nothing about the non-linguistic culture than by the mute and gesturing tourist who is perceived as both helpless and harmless.

II. ATTEMPTS TO BRIDGE THE CULTURE GAP

The Soviet feat of putting "Sputnik" in orbit around the earth spurred the United States to take a more serious look at our educational system with particular attention to the education and training of engineers and physical scientists. Fortunately, a portion of these new funds went into research and development of curriculum materials for the teaching of foreign languages as part of the National Defense Education Act. At that time it was discovered that a majority of our diplomatic corps abroad could not speak the language of their host country. It is natural that the major effort at that time in bridging the cross-cultural communication gap was on more effective methods for attaining fluency in the foreign language. Missing was relevant information on the cultural context in which the foreign language is going to be used. These has been a growing awareness of the fact that the cultural context of the situations where the language is to be used is crucial to cross-cultural communication.

In general it seems that those persons who have recently become most directly concerned with these non-linguistic elements in cross-cultural communication, such as Edward T. Hall, have relied on their own insightful impressions to illustrate the need for a more direct and systematic attack on the problem. For example, Hall[5] points out that he has found it necessary to sell the idea to some foreign service officers who "failed to grasp the fact that there was something really different about overseas operations; that what was needed was something bold and new, not just more of the same old history, economics

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[5]Edward T. Hall, The Silent Language, Premier Books, 1965, p. 36.

and politics." But once the selling job was done, he discovered the more serious problem:

> "Those Foreign Service officers and other trainees who did take seriously what they heard and managed to make something out of it came up against another problem. They would say, 'Yes, I can see that you have something there. Now I'm going to Damascus. Where can I read something that will help me to do business with the Arabs?' We were stumped!"

We should not be surprised that they were stumped because even today most of the "cultural materials" used in connection with language instruction in Spanish at the college level have a strongly belletristic flavor, which often has little to do with culture as viewed by social scientists and as directly encountered by the North American as he comes face-to-face with Latin Americans in their own cultural setting. Outside the field of literature, the area study materials are usually heavily laden with political and military history, goegraphy, and descriptive economics, which have limited value in preparing a student for successful participation in the culture.[6] Rarely is there an attempt to systematically compare the student's own culture and the foreign culture, then relate these differences to the kinds of communication problems encountered by Americans abroad.

Although the more conventional and readily available cultural materials are useful, they leave a wide gap between the theoretical and the experiential to be bridged by North Americans who must interact with Latin Americans in any cooperative endeavor. Materials are needed

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[6]Even the concepts which are potentially relevant to cross-cultural communication problems (such as acculturation, assimilation, socialization, ethnocentrism, culture shock, social conflict, role conflict, value conflict, dissonant expectation, social distance, marginal man, or group synergy) are often of little practical value in preparing a person for successful participation in a foreign culture because of the wide gap between the abstract concepts and their consequences in the concrete experience of individuals involved in a cross-cultural experience.

which provide a more direct connection between historico-socio-cultural analysis and direct experience in the Latin American culture.

The gap between the kind of cultural information needed and that available is so great that organizations responsible for preparing Americans to go abroad are very uneasy about the kinds of materials they are forced to use because they hope they are "better than nothing". For example, I was able to find several lectures on file in the Peace Corps Library in Washington which purported to describe basic differences between the North American and Latin American cultures.[7] It was interesting to note that there was considerable agreement among the lecturers on many of the comparisons, and that it was precisely in these areas of agreement that the content seemed most doubtful.

There were two glaring deficiencies in many of the comparisons. First, there was no evidence cited to support the assertions, and second, the statements were often so abstract that they would be difficult to verify. For the same reason, they would be of little practical value as a guide to the North American trying to communicate with Latin Americans. Yet these statements have gone unchallenged because there is no concrete comparative data available to test the assertions. This is understandable since it is often easier to find information about the cultures of pre-literate tribes in Africa, the South Pacific or the Brazilian jungle than about literate townspeople a few miles from Baghdad, Bangkok or Bogota. This is partly because anthropologists specializing in comparative analysis of cultures have traditionally studied primitive

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[7]Richard H. Hancock, "A Comparative Analysis of Latin American and United States Societies," unpublished lecture to Peace Corps Trainees, (no date), and Burt Burson, "Latin American and U.S. Societies: A Comparative Analysis," Unpublished lecture to Peace Corps Trainees (no date), are examples of attempts to summarize basic cultural differences between Latin Americans and North Americans.

tribes and folk cultures, while the sociologists who studied people in towns and cities rarely made cross-cultural comparisons. Fortunately, both situations have been changing.

Another possible reason the comparative statements have survived so long unchallenged is that they are usually very ethnocentrically flattering to the United States. I have been told by some Colombian social scientists that the Colombians see such statements in Peace Corps lectures as merely another indication of the North American's arrogance. Let me quote some of the central statements in the lectures found in the Peace Corps library.

(1) "The North American esteems and understands science while to the Latin American science is magic looked upon as a panacea."

The statement about Latin Americans may or may not be true, since no evidence is offered. My own research on American students' images of science suggests that the statement about North Americans' view is highly doubtful. We do not understand science, we do think of it as a panacea (or a threat), and we are most interested in its tangible, nationally advertised, consumer products...not in its discipline, its purpose, its methodology, its logic, or its creative process.

Let's look at another comparative statement.

(2) "The sense of justice and fair play is a common concern in the United States but is the concern only of the leader in Latin America."

Obviously this makes us better than they are, and at the same time explains why our foreign policy stays so far away from the average man in Latin America. No quantitative evidence is available to verify this.

Here's another popular comparative statement.

(3) "The American will settle for the best working arrangement while the Latin American seeks the perfect solution."

This says that we have the practical "know-how" and they are the "impractical idealists." Yet many an American expert has walked off from a technical aid project because he could not accept the pragmatic working arrangement under the circumstances, but wanted to set up a "showcase" project or nothing.

I was particularly impressed by this next comparative statement, which will raise doubts even in the minds of many North Americans.

> (4) "Latin Americans express their love of adventure at times in power struggles and military action rather than in outdoor activities as do North Americans."

This statement fascinated Latin Americans who were impressed by the North Americans' persistence in seeing themselves as Peace Lovers while they devote the largest part of their national budget to the military. One Colombian professor who read the statement responded with not so subtle sarcasm.

> "Yes, I guess you could say that it is a true comparison, as long as you interpret the phrase 'outdoor activities' to include the U.S. Marines' activities in Latin America between World War I and II. And, of course, the Korean War and the Vietnam Was could also be classified as outdoor activities. Also, you could say that we Latin Americans do struggle more for power, because in the Western Hemisphere North Americans already have it all and it is a struggle to get a little bit of it away from them."

The point of all this is that the growing awareness of the need to understand relevant non-linguistic aspects of the foreign culture creates a demand for new information which is generally not available in objective verifiable form. So, being human we tend to fill this gap with ethnocentric myths of the type just offered. How many times our frantic attempts to fill this gap result in further alienation of those with whom we would like to communicate is not known. However, in this research project in Bogota we discovered that 63% of families with whom

over 100 North Americans (Peace Corps Trainees and undergraduate students) have lived for at least six weeks agreed with the statement "they think they are superior to Colombians."[8]

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[8] Raymond L. Gorden, American Guests in Colombian Homes, Report to the U.S.O.E. Institute of International Studies, 1969, Table II, page 83.

III. AIMS AND PURPOSES OF THIS PROJECT

The general purpose of this project was to produce some reliable and valid knowledge of how differences in the non-linguistic aspects of the North Americans and Latin Americans act as barriers to cross-cultural communication. More specifically, the end product was to be instructional materials which would both illuminate the general problem of cross-cultural communication and provide concrete knowledge of Latin American situational settings needed to communicate better with the Colombians or with Latin Americans in general. In a word, our original aim was to be both theoretical and practical. That is to make some contribution to understanding the general nature of cross-cultural communication which might be applied to any two cultures and at the same time provide specific practical knowledge which could be applied by North Americans communicating face-to-face with Latin Americans in situ.

It should be emphasized that our purpose was not to generally describe contrasts between the two culture patterns but to discover those types of dissonant assumptions which actually led to miscommunication and misunderstanding between those whose daily activities brought them into face-to-face cross-cultural communication. Also, we were not concerned with "culture" in the belletristic sense but with whatever subjective orientations (values, concepts, beliefs, norms, expectations, etc.) actually blocked the communication attempts between North Americans and Latin Americans.

When this project was in the proposal stage there was hope that all of the results could be reduced to neatly arranged independent units

of instructional materials complete with pre-tests, post-tests, discussion guides, related readings and, in some cases, even a mini-drama on tape as a mode of presenting the problem in more direct experiential form. This has been achieved in the units on Spanish Personal Names and Cross-Cultural Encounter in a Latin American Bank. We did not progress as far in this direction as we had hoped on the other units mainly because we had to devote more time than anticipated to solving the field problems of collecting this novel type of data. The field methods included the use of direct participant-observation, depth interviews and questionnaires. This also involved the training of Colombians to tape-recorded depth interviews. Furthermore, we could not know in advance the precise nature and complexity of the dissonant patterns we were going to find and had wrongly assumed that relatively short, simple independent units of instructional materials would be the most effective form of presentation. This was not the case! Nevertheless, as will be shown in section IV of this report on the findings, we actually produced a larger volume of written materials relevant to the central problem than had been anticipated.

Admittedly these aims were ambitious in view of the fact that there was no previously existing model of the field strategy for discovering and validly recording these illusive dissonances between the often unconscious assumptions in the minds of North Americans and Latin Americans. However, the attempt was not foolhardy since it would not succeed or fail on an all or nothing basis, and we had the inspiration and guidand of some relevant concepts, accidental discoveries, and insights based on experience which pointed the way.

IV. CONCEPTUAL ORIENTATION

A. General Area of Focus

Since we were attacking a facet of human communication that has been rarely dealt with in systematic fashion, we had to explore areas of relatively irrelevant intellectual terrain to find only a few fragments which seemed relevant to the major thrust of our investigation. What puzzled us at first was the precisely that non-linguistic facet of cross-cultural communication which seemed most important to us on the basis of our direct participation in cross-cultural communication was dealt with least in the literature. This was the pattern of covert (silent and invisible) assumptions which provided the basis of interpreting the overt utterances, gestures or actions in a given situation.

We did not select this facet of human communication for scrutiny because of an arrogant disregard for what had already been done in the field; nor did we jump into the problem with any naive hope for instant victory over unclaimed territory. Instead, we began with a vital interest in the practical problem of improving communication between North Americans and Latin Americans and were surprised by the extent to which this led us into strange territory.

To quickly locate the focus of our investigation of cross-cultural communication, let us show how linguistic factors relate to the non-linguistic factors in the larger schema of human interaction. First, we recognize that in all social interaction there is some effect (usually reciprocal) of one person upon another's overt or covert behavior. This 'effect' can be classified as communication only if one person's attempt to symbolically stimulate the other has the same effect upon the receiver as intended by the sender. Thus, communication occurs only if the message

has the same meaning to the receiver as it does to the sender.

In most empirical studies of communication the emphasis is upon the form or content of the message as the vehicle for the transfer of meaning among humans. Linguists emphasize the patterns of sounds which constitute words, and the patterns of words which constitute ideas and sentences contained in the message. The semanticist concentrates upon the relationship between the symbol and the referent or the object for which the word stands. Semantics may be approached historically to show how the meanings (referents) for words changed over a period of time, or how they vary from place to place. Both the linguistic and the semantic approaches are concerned with the form and content of the verbal aspect of the message.

However, the message also has a non-verbal component. Recognition of the importance of the non-verbal activity accompanying the verbal content of any conversation has led to the study of kinesics which deals with the meaning of body movements and gestures, to proxemics which deals with the meaningful use of space by the communicators, and to paralinguistics which considers such non-verbal stimuli as pacing, rhythm, intonation patterns and tone of voice, all of which contribute to the meaning of the message.

All of these approaches to the study of communication place the emphasis on some aspect of the message with no special attention to the socio-cultural context in which the message is used. When these approaches consider the effect of context upon meaning they focus upon the context of the total verbal and/or all non-verbal overt activity contained in the message or the series of messages constituting the dialogue. The unexpressed assumptions about the situation in which the dialogue takes place is not included in this conception of context. We felt that this

was an unfortunate omission if we want to understand the problem of cross-cultural communication.

By implication, these more traditional approaches to cross-cultural communication assume that the total meaning transferred in the situation is contained in, or associated with, that overt (verbal and non-verbal) activity included in the message itself. Yet, as we listened and looked about us, we kept getting the feeling that meaning was being exchanged among the Colombians which was much more than that contained in all of the verbal and non-verbal activity which we call the message. At times it seemed as if the Colombians depended upon some secret, silent, invisible language which was either added to the spoken word or used to decode its true meaning.

We were encouraged by our finding that other observers in diverse places and times had made the same observation of the effects of these silent assumptions as we will show in the next section on relevant literature.

B. Some Relevant Literature

The need to interpret the words and actions in terms of the total socio-cultural context was expressed by Firth[9] in terms of what he called the "context of situation."

> "The central concept of the whole semantics ... is the context of situation. But even when we have arrived at the context of situation, we are not at the end of the 'house that Jack built'. The rest of the contextualization process is the province of sociological linguistics (which) is the great field of future research ... It is true that just as contexts for a word multiply indefinitely, so also situations are infinitely various. But after all, there is the routine of day and night,

[9] J. R. Firth, "On Sociological Linguistics," in Dell Hymes (ed.) Language in Culture and Society, New York: Harper and Row, 1964, p. 67.

> week, month, and year. And most of our time is spent in routine service, familial, professional, social and national. Speech is not the boundless chaos Johnson thought it was. For most of us the roles and the lines are there, and that being so, the lines can be classified and correlated with the part and also with the episodes, scenes and acts. Conversation is much more of a roughly prescribed ritual than most people think. Once someone speaks to you, you are in a relatively determined context and you are not free to say what you please ... every person is a bundle of roles or personae; so that the situational and the linguistic categories would not be unmanageable."

Despite this tantalizing start, Firth's ultimate aim is not ours of analyzing the nature of the interaction between the context of situation and the words uttered in that situation to determine the transfer of meaning. Instead, he seems to be bent on viewing language as a mirror of the situation. It is something parallel to, and it reflects the total meaning of, the situation. Nevertheless, his approach does highlight the idea that the social situation (in dramatic terms of plot, scene, roles and lines) can become the focus of our quest for the nature of meaning in human communication.

Malinowski[10] also points in the direction of studying the situationally oriented speech for those who would try to clarify the nature of meaning in human communication. To him the important question was

> " ... whether the science of language will become primarily an empirical study, carried out on living human beings within the context of their practical activities, or whether it will remain confined to deductive arguments, consisting of speculations based on written or printed evidence alone. I like most modern anthropologists, would plead for the empirical approach to linguistics, placing living speech in its actual context of the situation as the main object of linguistic study."

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[10]Bronislaw Malinowski, "The Dilemma of Contemporary Linguistics," in Dell Hymes, (ed.) Language in Culture and Society, New York: Harper and Row, 1964, p. 63.

Ward Goodenough[11] is helpful pointing out that there is no contradiction between the idea that two communities with quite different cultures may use the same language (thus suggesting that language and culture are <u>independent</u>) and the idea that the meaning of the language is <u>dependent</u> upon the cultural context in which it is used. Thus language and culture are separable but interacting aspects of the communication of meaning.

Kenneth L. Pike suggests that the non-linguistic structure of a culture can be mapped out in much the same way as the linguistic structures are in specifying the syntax. He sees human activity patterned by culture into possible and impossible sequences with pivotal points referred to as "spots". Therefore:

> "When an individual in one community attempts to respond to an individual of a different community, a great deal of confusion may result from the activity (including speech) which in the first community would elicit one response, might in the second community elicit a very different response."[12]

Regarding the relationship between the non-linguistic patterns and the linguistic ones in communication, several independent field reports have noted the syllogistic relationship between the socio-cultural assumptions, the verbal message and the meaning <u>in situ</u>. For example, Elenore Smith Bowen[13] in her field work in Africa noted what she called "extended meanings" which within the context of a particular culture are assumed to be logically deducible from what is said, and therefore understood by everyone but uttered by none.

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[11]Ward H. Goodenough, "Cultural Anthropology and Linguistics," in Dell Hymes, (ed.) <u>Language in Culture and Society</u>, New York: Harper and Row, 1964, p. 36.

[12]Kenneth L. Pike, <u>Language in Relation to a Unified Theory of the Structure of Human Behavior</u>, Glendale, California: Summer Institute of Linguistics, 1954.

[13]Elenore Smith Bowen, <u>Return to Laughter: An Anthropological Novel</u>, New York: The Natural History Library, Anchor Books, 1964, p. 110.

> "I leaned back and waited in silence. I had grown used to their mode of exposition, though I could not yet follow it: first, they give the conclusion, then the minor premise. The major one is then supposedly obvious; to ask for it merely proves one isn't of normal intelligence."

The fact that people are rarely aware of the "silent assumptions" of their own culture becomes apparent to sojourners from outside that culture. Many statements similar to that above can be found in the reports of travelers, anthropologists, or social workers dealing with people in American subcultures.

The discovery of these silent major premises is often accidental rather than the result of a systematic search. However, social scientists who analyze their own cultures also discover the syllogistic nature of covert value systems and belief systems in their relationship to overt action and speech.

For example, Diaz-Guerrero[14] in analyzing the value system related to the Mexican family, says:

> "The results that emerge uncannily resemble the syllogistic logical mechanism. At any rate, the mechanisms of action for the socio-cultural premises with the human mind appear to be 'automatic evaluation' and one is reminded of Osgood's 'semantic differential' 'Meaning atmospheres', Festinger's 'dissonance', Osgood's 'congruity' and syllogistic logic also come to mind."

Although Diaz-Guerrero is aware of the implications of cross-culturally dissonant socio-cultural premises, he does not attempt to study how these dissonances may frustrate attempts at cross-cultural communication. But he is acutely aware of this possibility when he says:

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[14]Rogelio Diaz-Guerrero, "Socio-Cultural Premises, Attitudes and Cross-Cultural Research," International Journal of Psychology, Journal International de Psychologie, Vol. 2, No. 2 (1967), pp. 79-87.

> "We are suggesting that there is almost no human communication unless there is an agreement beforehand about what is communicated or about the premises from which it derives. In other words, almost all so-called human communication is socio-cultural. We might even infer from these statements that one of the great difficulties for international communication is the lack of existence of socio-cultural premises that are valid to all human groups."[15]

He might have added that since these pan-cultural premises do not exist in many cross-cultural interaction situations, it becomes the problem of the foreign visitor to discover the operational premises of the host country if he is to communicate successfully.

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[15] Ibid., p. 82.

C. The Syllogistic Model of Meaning

To help us focus more sharply upon the silent premises in the socio-cultural context of the situation, we devised the "syllogistic model of meaning" in which all of the concerns of linguistics, semantics, kinesics, proxemics, and paralinguistics are treated as characteristics of the message the meaning of which is not complete until it is interpreted in terms of the on-going activity of the socio-cultural situation in which it is used. Thus, meaning is the conclusion of the syllogism which must take into account not only the message, which is the minor premise, but also the socio-cultural context of the situation which is the major premise.

(1) Major premise: In the concrete communication situation the major premise consists of the unexpressed assumptions which are relevant to that situation because they are used to interpret the meaning of the messages exchanged. These are usually affective or cognitive assumptions about the nature of the situation in which the conversation is taking place, or about the socio-cultural situations to which the conversation refers.

(2) Minor premise: The minor premise includes all of the expressed behavior to which meaning is assigned, whether it is verbal or non-verbal. This is the message in all of its dimensions.

(3) Conclusion: The conclusion constitutes the meaning of the message in terms of what the participants in the dialogue are expected to do (either covertly or overtly) about the message. This meaning may or may not be overtly expressed by the receiver of the message.

Thus, meaning is the result of an active interpretation of the expressed message in terms of the unexpressed socio-cultural assumptions which are operative in the situation where the dialogue takes place.

The syllogistic model points out that communication in any setting can break down for three basically different reasons.

(1) The communicators may not share the same set of socio-cultural assumptions which constitute the major premise or the interpretive framework in a given communication situation.

(2) The communicators may not share the same definitions of the verbal and non-verbal activities which express the message in the minor premise.

(3) The communicators might not reason logically from the major and minor premises to draw the same conclusions even when the content of both the major and minor premises are shared.

We used the syllogistic model to focus attention on the content of the major premise in which dissonant assumptions were often the cause of miscommunication in the cross-cultural interaction.

This perspective on cross-cultural communication generates the following basic questions regarding the major premise, which provide some clues to the general strategy for any empirical cross-cultural study of the problem:

(1) What assumptions are associated with which kinds of situations?

(2) Which of these assumptions are attached to certain recurring "scenes" in the culture and which are more closely associated with roles which cross-cut many scenes?

(3) Which of these assumptions function as major premises in the interpretation of messages exchanged in a given situation?

(4) Which of the communicatively essential assumptions are dissonant with respect to cultures X and Y?

Once we know the answers to these four questions with respect to a particular situation we can predict miscommunication between members of cultures X and Y in this situation.

The syllogistic model is only a heuristic device to help us take a more holistic approach to human communication by viewing meaning as a product of the interaction between the message and the socio-cultural context in which it is sent and received. This model forces us to focus on the relationship between the message with all its components (linguis-

tic, semantic, kinesic, proxemic and paralinguistic) and the socio-cultural setting with all its components.

D. Criteria for Selecting Observations

It would be impossible to describe all of the differences between any two cultures and then determine which differences might act as dissonant assumptions for interpreting some message in some specified situation. Instead, we began with the investigation of situations in which face-to-face interaction frequently took place between North Americans and Colombians in Bogota. By focusing the investigation on a few situations where interaction was frequent we narrowed the range of assumptions to be discovered. Also, by concentrating on cases of communication breakdown we did not concern ourselves with cultural differences which did not interfere with communication. Then by selecting situations in which repeated cases of cross-cultural misconception can be found, we increased the chances of discovering the dissonant assumptions functioning in a certain type of situation.

From the standpoint of developing a theory of communication, perhaps the discovery of one pair of dissonant assumptions is as good as another. But for the purpose of providing practical advice or training to Americans who are going to operate in a certain foreign culture, we must concentrate our analysis on either those specific purposes and functions abroad or concentrate on those more basic assumptions which cross-cut many specific situations in which the American will find himself. In any given concrete situation there are many types of assumptions which can be classified according to many different schemes, but

we propose four criteria which help measure the practical value of the specific findings, the accessibility of data and the possibility of replication.

(1) Chronological primacy: Special attention should be given to the communication problems in the initial entry period of one's stay in a foreign country. Many interactions which take place in the first 24 hours have special significance. The success or failure of communication in the early period may determine whether the people of the host culture will open or close certain social opportunities to us. In spite of the good intentions of the host he many unconsciously put the American in a category such as "another arrogant norteamericano" or "a well brought up person" on the basis of initial impressions.

Similarly, the North American guest unconsciously categorizes and develops attitudes toward the members of the host culture on the basis of his initial impressions. If misunderstandings develop in the initial entry period, these can lead to hostile attitudes which cause further miscommunication . . . Thus, we are caught in a vicious circle.

The first report on the INITIAL IMMERSION IN THE FOREIGN CULTURE deals with the types of communication difficulties encountered by North Americans in their first 24 hours in Bogota.

(2) Historical stability: Another important criterion in the selection of cultural differences to be studied is the stability of the culture pattern through time. Even though differences in styles of dress in large cities, for example, might cause some misunderstandings, they could easily change between the time they are analyzed and the time the information is used by others entering that culture. Other cultural patterns such as church services, Christmas celebration, or kinship

patterns are much more stable thus allowing a longer period of applicability of any of the practical and specific knowledge about the pattern.

(3) Diffusion. Cultural patterns may be highly localized either geographically according to region, altitude, rural-urban location, or socially according to sex, social class, race, or ethnic group. In contrast, other patterns may be diffused throughout a large area and be shared by all strata and groups of the population. To maximize the practical relevance of a particular analysis of cultural dissonances we should begin with those traits of the foreign culture which are highly diffused throughout the culture. One example of this is our Cross-Cultural Communication Packet on Cross-Cultural Encounter in a Latin American Bank. It is clear that the "rules of the game" for cashing a check in Bogota also apply not only in banks in other Latin American countries but also in some parts of Africa and Asia where the banking systems do not depend on clearing houses.

(4) Situational generality. Some specific culture patterns are situationally circumscribed. They are applicable only to one situation such as attending a party, paying the gas bill, or buying fresh produce. Other patterns are applied in a wide variety of situations. For example, knowing how to cash a check is situationally specific, but understanding the basic dimensions of the Spanish personal naming system can be applied by a person in many functionally different situations.

It is not easy to find situations in which North Americans and Latin Americans are interacting which will fulfill all four the the above criteria simultaneously, but it would be more practical to satisfy as many of the criteria as possible. For example, our unit on the Spanish Personal Naming System to a great extent fulfills all four criteria.

Knowledge of various aspects of the naming system are involved in using the telephone directory, libraries, making introductions, and addressing people in conversation. Also, the same system is used throughout Spanish speaking Latin American even by most of the Indian population. Most aspects of the system have been historically stable for hundreds of years. However, there is one essential difference between Spain and Latin American in the method of alphabetizing full names.

In actual practice we had to accept certain practical limitations in applying these criteria because of some problems in gaining access to observe and participate in the relevant situations from both sides of the cultural fence. Also, the roles of the particular North Americans (GLCA undergraduate students and Peace Corps Trainees) limited the variety of the interaction situations to be studied.

V. METHODS OF DATA COLLECTION

To guide our research we first sought methodological models from previous studies which would fit the requirements of our problem. We felt that certain methodological requirements were minimal even for the initial exploratory phase of the project.

A. Three Basic Methodological Requirements

Even though additional requirements could be made for the ideal study which would be more experimental in character, we knew these minimal requirements could be realistically accomplished on the basis of our previous observations of Americans in Latin America. Even meeting these minimal requirements would represent a rare attempt to directly attack the problem of cross-cultural miscommunication.

(1) Study interaction in situ: Most accounts of the problems encountered by Americans abroad are based upon information obtained from the American after he has returned to the United States. For reasons we will not elaborate here, we had a strong conviction that such a strategy would yield such a high proportion of invalid data that it wouldn't justify the effort. If we interview Americans about what they did abroad, the responses are distorted both by their misinterpretations of the initial experience and by their failure to remember vital detail. If we observe Americans interacting with foreigners in the United States this would be an improvement in the accuracy of the information but most of our purposes would be aborted because the context of the situation in which we want to help the American to communicate is missing. The foreigner does not bring the foreign situation with him. This strategy would yield basic knowledge if we focused on the foreigner's misunderstandings due to his failure to comprehend the American situational context, but the concrete findings would then be designed to

orient foreigners to the U. S. rather than vice versa which was our aim.

(2) Select salient cross-cultural situations: It is not as easy as we might expect to find the concrete situations in which face-to-face interaction between North Americans and Latin Americans is taking place in the Latin American context. Even finding interaction between Americans and Colombians in Bogota is no guarantee that the particular interaction is in fact taking place in the Latin American situational context. Often, if the Colombian, for example, is an employee of some North American private or governmental enterprise and the interaction is taking place in an office rented or owned by the Americans, there is a strong possibility that the situational context is a cultural hybrid or mostly North American. This is related to John Useem's concept of the "third culture".

Often, the American business man, and government official is surrounded by a very special group of people in the host country who are not only bi-lingual but also bi-cultural and make a profession of acting as buffers to protect the Americans from immersion in the host culture. Their function is to isolate the American from culture shock thus keeping him more comfortable. The price paid for this comfort is often a profound ignorance of how the "natives" view things. For example, while our study was underway in Bogota, a team of researchers from a large North American state university arrived with the intention of studying the communication problems between the Colombians and the North American business community in Bogota. After three weeks of exploratory interviewing they decided that the Americans had become so isolated from the Colombian culture in their day-to-day life, both in their business and social lives, that the possibility of actually catch-

ing an American communicating with a Colombian in the Latin American cultural context would be so low that it would be impractical to obtain any significant amounts of data. Even though those few cross-cultural interactions which did take place may have been crucial to the relations between Colombia and the American business community, the frequency of interaction was so low that relevant data could not be collected efficiently; therefore, the research team returned to the United States.

The writer was fortunate in having direct access to two types of Americans who were in daily face-to-face interaction with Colombians on Colombian terms. As the designer and initial administrator of the Latin American Program for the Great Lakes Colleges Association, the writer had access to both the American students and Peace Corps Trainees at the GLCA center in Bogota known as CEUCA (Centro de Estudios Universitarios Colombo-Americano). This connection also provided access to the Colombian professors, host families, librarians, university officials, and others who frequently interacted with these Americans.

In the initial exploratory months of the field study a wide variety of interaction situations were observed and discussed with the Americans. For example, arriving at the airport, arriving at the home of the host family, obtaining the required identification papers from the Colombian equivalent of our FBI, going to the barber, hairdresser, dressmaker, riding taxis, taking a bus, using a library, shopping, discussing various topics with Colombian university students, matriculating at a university, attending classes, many aspects of living with a Colombian family, attending parties, movies and other forms of entertainment, going to the bank, being a pedestrian, and other experiences all of which were salient in the minds of the Americans at some point in their stay in Bogota.

Obviously there would not be time to carefully analyze the effects of all these situational contexts upon cross-cultural communication, so we had to select a few for more careful observation and analysis. Several criteria were used in this selection:

(a) Those in which the Americans showed the greatest amount of symptomatic evidence of miscommunication or social isolation.

(b) Those in which the largest number of Americans became involved.

(c) Those in which the time and place of the cross-cultural encounter was most regular and predictable.

In applying these criteria we discovered that it was more fruitful to organize the concrete situations into categories according to the role the American occupied in his interaction with Colombians. We decided to concentrate on four roles played by all of the Americans involved in the study.

(a) Public role (foreigner, customer): This category included such situations as obtaining the identification card, having identification photos made, taking a taxi, riding a bus, being a pedestrian, etc.

(b) Guest role: This refers specifically to his role as guest in the Colombian home where he lived for some months. It included such concrete situations as eating meals, keeping one's room presentable, taking a bath, watching television, dealing with the maid, using the living room, helping the senora with household chores, coming in at night, etc.

(c) Student role: All of the Americans were students whether they were GLCA undergraduates or Peace Corps Trainees. All took courses and had discussions with Colombian instructors whether at CEUCA or at one of five universities in Bogota. Investigation of this role rendered

such specific problematic situations as matriculating at a university, attending class, using the library, taking examinations, receiving and fulfilling assignments, etc.

(d) Dating: One of the main forms of interaction between the young Americans and Colombians, since only a few of the Peace Corps Trainees were married couples, was in the form of dating the opposite sex. This category involves such specific situations as the initial contact, asking for a date, obtaining parental permission, agreeing upon a time to return, paying the chaperone's way, kissing the girl goodnight, etc. All of these were problematical for the Americans.

(3) Obtain both culture's views of the situation: The third methodological requirement was to obtain both culture's views of the situation. In order to obtain the point of view of both cultures regarding interaction in the same situation, it was necessary not only to observe and interview Colombians interacting with Americans, but also it was mandatory that we use Colombians to interview the Colombians. Some of the problems in using Colombians to interview Colombians and Americans to interview Americans is discussed later under the training of interviewers for the project.

To say that we must see the situations through the eyes of the Colombians if we are to understand why we fail to communicate with them may seem so obvious that it should not be elaborated. Yet, in our efforts to find previous studies of cross-cultural communication problems we discovered that most of the studies and the instructional materials for Americans going abroad were not based upon any analysis of both the American and the foreigner's point of view. Instead, they were mainly anecdotal reports by Americans and about Americans' experiences abroad. Often the Americans' reports should not have been treated

as information about the other culture but as subjective symptoms of confusion and miscommunication. Thus, the American point of view standing alone can be used only as symptoms of miscommunication. It can be very misleading to depend upon it as a diagnosis of the causes of the miscommunication.

B. Progressing from Exploration to Quantification

At the beginning of the field work we made no attempt to quantify any of our observations because we first had to explore in a very flexible way by participant-observation to find those situations in which there seemed to be some communication difficulty other than that due to the Americans' limited fluency in Spanish

On the basis of notes from these participant-observation experiences, the writer designed a very flexible and unstructured interview guide aimed at detecting some of the symptoms of possible miscommunication. For example, questions were aimed at discovering in what kinds of situations the Americans felt the Colombians had violated a previous agreement, or where they didn't meet the Americans' expectations, or where the Colombian was thought to be inconsistent, irrational, humorous, etc. All of these tended to find those situations in which communication breakdown was interpreted by the American as some personality defect in the Colombian. Another set of questions aimed at discovering those situations in which the American was conscious of the lack of communication. For example, "What have you found that puzzled you so far about Colombia or the Colombians' behavior?" "When were you confused about what you should do in a certain situation?" "When were you embarrassed?" "What was the most frustrating thing you have experienced so far in Colombia?" All of this information was treated merely

as possible symptoms of miscommunication. This information provided the basis for developing fairly structured interviews with the Colombians first to verify whether there was miscommunication in those situations producing the most symptoms in the Americans, and, second, to try to find the possible clash between the Colombian's and the American's assumptions in the situation.

An intervening step between interviewing the Americans and interviewing the Colombians was to have the Colombian members of the staff read the transcriptions of the interviews with the Americans and encourage them to comment on the American's reactions. In this situation, with some luck, the Colombian would make some remarks which showed that his interpretation of the American's responses was very different from the writer's. Often this discrepancy was related to the dissonances in assumptions present in the interaction situation the American was discussing in the interview.

Upon the basis of the interviews with Americans and the Colombian staff's responses to the transcriptions, we designed some fairly structured interview schedules for interviewing the host-family senoras and the Colombian professors, which allowed us to discover what proportion of the Colombians had certain images and attitudes toward their American guests which we had found via the depth interviews to be the results of miscommunication.

The final and most precise stage was to discover exactly <u>how many</u> of the Americans had the same incorrect silent assumptions which we had discovered in the depth interviewing. To demonstrate that a particular American assumption was in conflict with that of the Colombian host, we simply asked each American guest what he thought his Colombian host expected him to do about a long list of items encountered in the daily

living in a Colombian household. Then we asked the senora in that family what she actually expected of her guest with respect to each of the items. In this way we would show, for example, that the American assumed that the maid was supposed to make his bed, but the senora assumed the contrary. A large number of such misconceptions held by the Americans is reported in the unit on American Guests in Colombian Homes.

We made every effort to avoid a premature leap into the structured measurement of either the American's or the Colombian's assumptions by stressing the careful exploration to detect the qualitative categories of silent assumptions to be sure they existed in reality, that a relevant question could be phrased which was meaningful to both the Colombians and Americans involved in the situation. Although this long exploratory period prevented us from progressing as far as we would have liked in the direction of direct quantitative comparisons between the Americans' and Colombians' assumptions, we knew that it was the only solid approach. Too often foreigners coming to study social problems in Latin America are accused of rushing immediately into quantitative measurements using random samples, structured questionnaires and attitude scales without taking the time to lay the foundation at the exploratory stage to determine which questions are appropriate and relevant in the foreign culture.

C. The Participants Studied

Information was gathered from over 160 Colombians and 140 North Americans, each of whom had had some contact with persons from the other culture. Most of the North Americans were undergraduate students and Peace Corps Trainees enrolled in CEUCA (Centro de Estudios Universi-

tarios Colombo-Americano) which is administered by Antioch College for the Great Lakes Colleges Association. Both groups of Americans lived with Colombian families in Bogota and attended classes taught in Spanish by Colombian professors. The Colombians interviewed included the señora in the host families, the professors who had Americans in their classes, and others who had frequent contact with the Americans, such as librarians, foreign student advisors, bank tellers, taxi drivers, certain government officials involved in immigration and security (DAS).

All of the Americans were interviewed by myself and all of the Colombians were interviewed by one of eight Colombians who had been especially selected and trained to do tape-recorded interviews.

We branched out from the core of Colombians and Americans associated with the CEUCA program to include those associated with programs for North Americans administered through the University of the Andes (private secular) and the Javerian University (private Jesuit). These programs, however, included no Peace Corps Trainees as did the CEUCA program. We felt it important to include as wide a variety of Americans as we could find in order to discover which of the cross-cultural communication problems were most general to Americans of any sub-culture.

The Americans coming through the CEUCA program came from about 40 colleges and universities including small private, large state, secular and denominational. However, most of the denominational colleges were well on their way to secularization. A small minority of the students were Jewish, and only one was black. By expanding the study to include the Program at the University of the Andes we included Americans from more strictly denominational colleges in a consortium of Mennonite colleges. By including the Program at the Javerian University we included a fairly sizeable minority of Catholic students. Students in

the CEUCA program were not restricted to enrolling in only one of the universities in Bogota, but actually attended the University of the Andes, the Javerian University, the National University of Colombia, Caro y Cuero Institute, and School of Public Administration.

Although we cannot claim that either the Americans or the Colombians accurately represented the middle-class in their respective countries, we had a wide enough spread of Americans to convinces us that types of Americans whose paths rarely cross in the United States and whose political, religious and intellectual orientations vary widely did in fact have a common core of American culture which was predictably different from a common core of the Colombian culture which ran from the lower-middle class families with whom the Peace Corps Trainees were housed to some of the upper-class familes with whom Americans in the programs at Los Andes and Javeriana were housed. Whatever spread we could attain in both the Colombians and Americans was useful since we were searching for the cultural dissonances encountered between North Americans and Colombians regardless of the national sub-cultures involved. The most obvious omission on the American side was the black student. Only one was included in this study who had gone to Colombia expecting to find an interracial Utopia with no prejudice or discrimination against blacks. Unfortunately, she was disappointed at the outset by having to move from her first Colombian home because of the senora's prejudice against her.

D. The Colombian Interviewers

(1) Selecting Colombian Interviewers: It was extremely important to use Colombians (or at least Latin Americans) for interviewing the Colombians. This was mainly to avoid the etiquette barrier[15]. Most

[15] For this and other inhibitors of communication in the interview see Raymond L. Gorden, Interviewing: Strategy, Techniques and Tactics, Chapter 3, "A Frame of Reference for Communication in the Interview".

respondents in an interview would rather be polite to the interviewer than to say anything which might insult him. Frequently the conclusions a Colombian had drawn about Americans from his experience with one particular American would be derogatory, not the kind of thing a Latin American would care to say to an American interviewer directly. For example, many Colombians felt that American girls were "agressive", "independent", "over-sexed", "morally loose", "all brain", or "sexually frigid". Unless the Colombian would state these conclusions there would be no opportunity in the interview to probe for the communication situations in which these ideas were developed, and to determine whether or not they were based upon miscommunication.

It was not enough to simply use Colombians to interview Colombians but it was also necessary to do some matching of role and status where needed to facilitate the candid responses. For this reason we selected eight different interviewers on a part-time basis so that we had some choice in matching interviewer with respondent. On the interviewing staff was one psychoanalyst (male), one psychologist (female), one foreign student advisor (male), one social worker (female), plus four young female college graduates in sociology who had just completed many hours of interviewing Colombian housewives in a study of family problems in different regions of Colombia. The higher status males interviewed male university professors, while the females interviewed the senoras and female librarians.

(2) Objectives and tactics of the interview: Despite the high quality of the background and experience of the interviewers, it was necessary to work closely with them for the first two weeks to increase their success in eliciting information relevant to the problem. The difficulty in probing for relevant information can be seen in terms of

the syllogistic model of meaning which classifies relevant data into the silent assumptions in the major premise, the verbal and non-verbal message of the minor premise, and the conclusions drawn on the basis of the two premises.

To unravel this in the interview, it is usually necessary to proceed with steps reversing the logical order of the syllogism.

(a) Discovering conclusions derived from direct experience: It is essential to distinguish between the stereotypes Colombians have of Americans (gained from the Colombian press, American movies, or some other indirect source) and the conclusions drawn on the basis of direct interaction with a particular American.

(b) Looking for negative conclusions: Of course we cannot say that all conclusions about Americans based on false premises result in negative images because it is also possible mistakenly to give the American credit for excellent motivations, character traits, or performance. However, when we keep in mind that by "conclusions" we do not refer to generalities about the American character but to specific conclusions coming out of a concrete interaction situation, then we see that most of the conclusions resulting from communication breakdown are manifestations of frustration, shock, surprise, disapproval, or boredom with respect to the American whose actions (verbal or non-verbal) did not conform to expectations. Thus, when two people think they have an understanding which is not supported by subsequent actions then each accuses the other of violating the agreement and concludes that the other person is "undependable", "untrustworthy", "not considerate of others", etc.

Since we tend to automatically judge others in terms of their ability to live up to our expectations, and since the American must discover the Colombian's expectations through communication, then failure

to communicate accurately will result in a corresponding failure to meet the other person's expectations.

(c) Separating the respondents' conclusions from the minor premise: We must work backward through the syllogistic model from conclusion to the minor premise which is the message containing the evidence from which the conclusion is drawn. This required great skill in probing to distinguish between the respondent's interpretation of the fact and the facts themselves. Once this separation is made then we are ready for the next step which is to discover the silent assumptions in the major premise which allowed this particular interpretation of the message.

(d) Finding the hidden assumptions in the major premise: This final step is most difficult because the respondent himself is usually not conscious of his silent assumptions. Even if he is made aware of them he might feel foolish in stating "the obvious" to the interviewer who is also a Colombian.

The value in having Colombians interview the Colombians clearly holds up through step (c) but then the advantage disappears unless the interviewer is carefully trained to help the respondent state the obvious. In many cases an interviewer would proceed very effectively in finding the Colombian's experience-based negative image of an American guest, but then fell into the same cross-cultural pitfall with his compatriot respondent by accepting the evidence contained in the message as automatically and irrevocably leading to only one conclusion. The interviewer is as embarrassed to ask "How did you draw that conclusion" as the respondent is to answer the question.

To illustrate this point, let us assume that a Colombian and an American were interacting as they cash their checks in a Colombian bank.

They both leave the bank very annoyed with each other. The chart below shows the conclusions and minor premises given by each to the interviewer.

Respondent	Conclusion Given	Minor Premise	Major Premise
(1) Mario the Colombian	"Joe is a very rude person!"	"Joe stood in front of the teller's window until he got his cash."	??
(2) Joe the American	"Mario is a very rude person!"	"Mario came and put his check through the teller's window without waiting for me to get my cash!"	??

To a Colombian his conclusion that Joe is rude seems to flow logically from the minor premise he states, just as the American feels that his conclusion that Mario is rude flows logically from his minor premise. Both are perfectly accurate in describing the actions providing the evidence of the minor premise. Both view the other's conclusions as having no logical relationship to the facts of the case. Yet both are being perfectly logical if we know each person's silent assumption comprising the major premise.

If a Colombian asked a Colombian, "Why do you say Joe was rude?", the answer, "Because he stood in front of the teller's window until he got his money!" would be accepted without probing for the major premise which is the mystery to the American. Thus, on many occasions the Colombian interviewer would fail to probe for the major premise because to him the logic was complete without it. The missing major premises are explained in the next section of this report.

The solution for this problem was to tape-record all of the interviews, have the American interviewer listen for the missing major premises and then interview the Colombian interviewer. This was not always

necessary because the major premise is a clearly institutionalized pattern which may be accidentally revealed in one or more of the respondent's free-flowing accounts of this type of incident. For example, one Colombian might say, "Instead of handing his check to the teller and then stepping back until his name was called, he just stood there blocking the window so no one else could hand a check to the teller!"

(3) Training strategy: The training of the interviewers consisted of discussing in detail the objectives of the interview and some of the general tactics of probing to get beyond the conclusions at least to the concrete facts of the minor premise if not to the silent assumptions of the major premise. Role-playing was used to familiarize them with the process of introducing oneself, explaining the purpose and sponsorship of the study, and explaining that the interview was to be tape-recorded and why. We proceeded cautiously at first with the use of tape recorders since the writer had no experience with this in Latin America. With the help of Dr. Lucy Cohen who had just completed a study of Colombian women's views of family planning using the tape recorder, we were encouraged to use the tape recorder which was so essential in the training process.

During the training period each interviewer did some interviews without the tape recorded and some with. The interviewer and the project director say down together to listen to portions of the tape. First, the trainee was allowed to engage in self-criticism before any questions or suggestions were offered by the writer. In this way it was possible to detect not only whether the interviewer had actually done well, but also to know whether the interviewer understood what he had done and what needed improvement. At times it was necessary to prevent the trainee from being too self-critical because of his having

impossibly high standards of success. We gradually deemphasized the importance of finding the silent assumptions in the Colombian and left more of that to be done through the writer's interviewing of the Colombian interviewer about a particular interview. We shifted the emphasis to probing for the distinction between the respondent's conclusions and the pure facts of the situation.

From one point of view the efficiency of the interviewer may seem very low because only in a minority of incidents described by the respondents did they succeed in penetrating clearly beyond the conclusion itself. However, since we were searching for those stable and basic Colombian cultural patterns which clashed with stable and basic American cultural patterns, the task was far from hopeless. Since several respondents were interviewed regarding the same situation some of the interviewers would always be successful and the suspected major premise could then be more directly verified by the American discussing it with the Colombian interviewers.

E. Amount and Types of Data Gathered

After the preliminary exploratory phase of participant-observation we constructed 15 different instruments (depth interview guides, structured interview schedules, questionnaires, and observation guides) for collecting data from North Americans and Colombians. Table 1 below gives a rough idea of the amount of data collected only in the tape-recorded depth interviews showing the distribution of the 2,867 pages of transcribed interview materials.

Since the data-gathering extended over a year's span not all the instruments developed for Americans were used with each American, nor was every instrument for Colombians used with each Colombian, but there

was always a core of Americans and Colombians who had responded to two or more of the instruments which helped to develop a more holistic picture of some of the interaction patterns and the people involved.

Data Collected in Tape-Recorded Interviews

Respondent	Number of questions asked	Number of persons interviewed	Pages of transcribed material
(1) Host senoras	85	38	1,613
(2) Professors	24	16	416
(3) Students	24	33	838
TOTALS	133	87	2,867

The amount of data gathered by each of 12 additional instruments is given in Table 2 on the next page.

Table 2

Data Collected by Structured Interviews, Questionnaires and Observation Guides

INSTRUMENT	Number completed (A)	Number of questions (B)	Analysis completed (C)	Proportion of Analysis already used in the text (D)
(1) Frequency count of Spanish names	Analyzed 1,700,000 names	None	100%	100%
(2) Interview with librarians	10 major libraries in Bogota	25	None	None
(3) Structured interviews on senora's images of her American guest	40	72	100%	75%
(4) Structured interviews on senora's perceptions of the guest's role	45	78	100%	90%
(5) Structured interviews on senora's perceptions of boy-girl relations	39	59	100%	None
(6) Questionnaire on Americans' perceptions of the guest's role	35	78	100%	75%
(7) Questionnaire on Americans' perceptions of boy-girl relations	35	34	90%	None
(8) Structured interviews on Colombian professors' views of American students	13	58	None	None
(9) Structured interviews on American students' views of the Colombian university	35	26	100%	None
(10) Observation assignments on time-space dimensions of the Colombian household	32	62	100%	90%
(11) Observation assignments on Colombian food customs	44	230	100%	50%
(12) Observation assignments on Colombian party customs	33	28	100%	None

We will not include the instruments themselves as part of this report since they amount to 180 pages and have been submitted in previous progress reports. Since this study had to develop from very exploratory beginnings, one of the major tasks was to arrive at the point where we could construct the 15 different instruments in a way which included questions and answer categories relevant to the problem as well as meaningful to both Americans and Colombians interacting in the situation.

We were not able to always match the reciprocal images of Colombian-American interacting pairs because of the time lag in the development of the different instruments and in obtaining the cooperation of the various educational and other institutions involved. Peace Corps Trainee groups came and left in periods of about three months, the GLCA students stayed from 3 to 15 months, Colombian families moved, Colombian professors went to vacations, changed employment and left the country. All of these factors tended to prolong the exploratory phase and prevent the types of matching, accumulation, and correlation of data which would have been ideal.

The next section will give an overview of the types of analyses of data and the types of textual materials which were written on the basis of these data.

F. Unfinished Analyses and Textual Materials

As shown in column (C) of Table 2, all of the data have been analyzed and quantitatively summarized except for items (2) and (8). Also as shown in column (D) a considerable portion of the data have not yet been incorporated into a written text. Texts should still be written in two areas of Colombian-American interaction. First would be these data relating to the American as Student. This would include the data from

Colombian librarians, professors and from the American students. The second focus would be on the Colombian-American Dating, which could use data from instruments (5), (7), and (12), in addition to the participant-observation data which was gleaned. We will continue to seek funds to convert these data into instructional materials. But we prefer to give higher priority to the conversion of the text already written into an audio-visual form as we have done with the sample unit on the Cross-Cultural Encounter in a Latin American Bank. Then on the basis of this experience we could move more directly from the data to the audio-visual form which we feel is more effective in motivating the learner.

In the next section of this Report we will give an overview of the types of findings and textual materials produced thus far in the project based upon the types of data listed in Tables 1 and 2 above.

VI. FINDINGS

Since we cannot possibly present or even summarize all of the findings of this two-year contract in this Final Report, we will give a general overview by presenting (a) an example case fitting into the syllogistic frame of reference we have used in organizing most of the findings, (b) we will give in Chart B the compressed essence of 20 syllogistic cases to further illustrate the range of relevant materials, (c) we will present an annotated list of the five reports of subject data amounting to 485 pages in addition to this Report, and (d) include the detailed tables of contents of each in Appendix B of this Report.

A. Illustration of the Use of the Syllogistic Framework

This illustrative case is a much compressed version of the subject data unit entitled Cross-Cultural Encounter in a Latin American Bank. This case will demonstrate not only how the clash between the silent assumptions of the Americans and Colombians lead to miscommunication and hostility, but will also show that communication failure can go undetected when the participants have no way of discovering that they do not share the same major premises. We shall see that when the silent assumptions appropriate to the socio-cultural situation are unknown to the foreign participant, he automatically fills the vacuum with those assumptions he brings from his own cultural background. It is important to note that this process often occurs so instantly and unconsciously that, although the participants may be aware of some conflict, they rarely diagnose the cause as miscommunication. Instead, each one tends to see the situation as a result of incorrect behavior or undesireable character traits in the foreigner with whom he interacts. This is the case in the following example.

In the opening scene the American is in a bank in Bogota to cash a check. He has just handed his check to the teller and is waiting for his money when a Colombian customer steps up and puts his check on the counter in front of the American.

The message: (minor premise)

Amer: "Are you in a hurry?"

Col: "No, not I, but why do you ask?"

Amer: "It's that you didn't wait for your turn."

Col: "I thought you were in a hurry because you are standing in front of the cashier's window!"

Amer: "But it's my turn!"

Col: "But you have already taken your turn, right?"

Amer: "No, I'm still waiting for my money!"

Col: "Of course, but you've had your turn!"

Amer: "What do you mean, 'I have had my turn'?"

Luckily, at this point the cashier handed the money to the American who glared at the Colombian and left.

The American's interpretations (conclusion): The American's interpretation of this situation to the interviewer was essentially as follows:

> "I went to the Banco Comercial Antioqueno across from the National Park to cash my allowance check. I got to the head of the line and gave my check to the cashier. I was just standing there minding my own business waiting for the cashier to give me the cash, when some pushy type Colombian came and nudged me gently to one side and plunked his check on the counter right in front of me before the cashier could give me my money. I pointed out to him that he did not wait for his turn. It sounded like he said that I had already had my turn even if I didn't get my money. Maybe he thought my check was not good. He must have been some sort of a nut. At least he was very rude!"

The American participant observer noted that of the group of about sixty Peace Corps Trainees who had gone as a group to the bank, five

or six had had the same experience of a Colombian putting his check down in front of him. During their four-block walk back to the training institution, they talked over their experiences and concluded Colombians were rude at least in their behavior in banks.

The Colombian's interpretations (conclusion): The Colombian's account of the same episode as told to a fellow Colombian was quite different, and was essentially as follows:

> "Did you see those norteamericanos in the bank? They would walk right up to the teller's window, give him their check, and then just stand there right in front of the window so that no one else could give their check to the cashier. They refused to move from in front of the window! Then this one made some very rude remarks to me when I tried to give my check to the cashier."

It is clear in this vignette that each person unintentionally give the other the impression that he was rude. The American thought the Colombian was rude, not only because of his actions but also the remark that "You have already taken your turn!" seemed to be untrue and uncalled for. Neither person had any difficulty understanding the meaning of the other's words in the conventional sense, nevertheless, communication broke down.

The dissonant major premises: When we explored relevant context of assumptions which were conflicting, we found that the North American had a set of assumptions regarding how banks operate which was at odds with the Colombians' assumptions upon which the bank was actually operated. The North American assumed, from his own cultural background, that:

(a) The cashier intends to cash checks in the order he receives them from the customers. This is the most democratic way to handle the business.

(b) The customers should be served in the order they arrive and therefore should line up and wait their

> turn at the cashier's window. This is the most efficient way to serve the customers.

This feeling that people should line up is so strong in the American's mind that he actually thinks he sees lines where there are none and he will say "I stood in line" where there was no line to stand in. If he becomes aware of this lack of a line, he then says "They should line up but they don't". The American has great difficulty believing the fact that the formation of a line at the bank window in Colombia (as in many other parts of the world) would greatly reduce the efficiency of the service, in view of the institutionalized pattern of operation of the bank.

In Colombian banks, lining up is dysfunctional for the following reasons. The cashier will not give out the cash for a check until after all of the steps in the bookkeeping process (including showing the amount as having been withdrawn and the new balance on the bank statement for that account against which the check has been drawn) have been completed. This can be done because checks can be cashed only at the bank having the account against which it is to be charged. Different dypes of checks require different steps in the bookkeeping process depending on such things as the type of account involved, whether a person is drawing money out of his own account or some other person's, whether the amount of the check is large or small, and whether the teller knows the person who is cashing the check so that no identification is needed.

In view of these complications different checks require different lengths of time to be processed before they can be returned to the cashier with clearance to be cashed. Therefore, it is not possible for the checks to be cashed in the order they are received. So to deprive one customer of the opportunity to start his check through one

of these processing channels during the whole period of time necessary to process the check of the person in line ahead would slow down the whole system. The Colombian's assumptions in this situations are that (a) he will politely get through the crowd standing near the cashier's window to hand his check to the cashier, (b) then he will step back from the window so that some other person may do the same, (c) then he will wait until the cashier calls his name then step forward to claim his money, and (d) in some cases at this point the cashier will ask the customer for identification if he doesn't know him by sight. These are the rules of the game in Colombia. Within this context, the Colombian's remark that "You have already had your turn" makes more sense. He means that the American has had his turn to <u>give the check</u> to the cashier and now it is the Colombian's turn to do the same. This has no connection in the Colombian's mind with any "turn" in receiving the money because at this step in the process one's turn comes when the teller calls his name.

This example can be reduced to its syllogistic essence by saying that the American was operating on the major premise that it was polite, democratic and efficient for a person to stand in line for his turn and then stay at the teller's window until he received and counted his money. The minor premise included the information received by the American by direct observation and conversation which indicated that the Colombian was not going to play the game according to these rules. Therefore, the American concluded that this Colombian was a rude one.

B. <u>Some Syllogistic Cores</u>

To provide a broader view of the types of situations in which we found miscommunication based upon dissonant assumptions of the Ameri-

2

cans and Colombians, we have prepared Chart B on the next page which gives a selection of miscommunications compressed to their syllogistic essence. In all of the 20 examples the major premise held by the North American was incorrect in the Colombian setting.

From this table we can see that some of the conclustions were in the form of judgments regarding what actions were possible or permissible. For example, American (1) fallaciously concludes that the <u>senora</u> would not approve of his taking a hot shower. American (2) incorrectly concludes that he should restrain his impulse to "democratically" make his own bed.

The Syllogistic Core of Some Typical Miscommunication

In the twenty examples below, the American draws an incorrect conclusion (shown in column A) in response to information contained in the message (shown in column B) because of the inappropriate assumption (shown in column C) upon which he based his interpreation of the information.

	A C O N C L U S I O N (the meaning)	B MINOR PREMISE (the message)	C MAJOR PREMISE (silent assumptions)
(1)	"The senora would not approve of my taking a hot shower."	"I noticed that the maid always washes dishes in cold water."	"If the host family won't even turn on the water heater to wash the dinner dishes in hot water, they would not want me to turn on the heater to take a hot bath in the evening."
(2)	"I should not make my own bed."	"The senora told me that I should <u>not</u> do any maid's work."	"One of the duties of the maid is to make all of the beds in the house."
(3)	"These people are not members of the same family."	"The adults and the children in the house do not have the same pair of last names."	"Father, mother and children in the same family have the same pair of last names in the Spanish personal naming system."
(4)	"This library does not have the book I want."	"The author's name is not in the card index where it should be."	"When putting full Spanish names into alphabetical order we consider the parts in the following order: first surname, second surname, first given name, second given name."
(5)	"I am not treated like a member of the family."	"I have never eaten breakfast with the members of the host family."	"Members of a family usually eat breakfast together."

Chart B
(continued)

	CONCLUSION	MINOR PREMISE	MAJOR PREMISE
(6)	"Ten pesos is an adequate amount to pay this taxi driver."	"The taxi meter shows only eight pesos and no 'extra charges'."	"The appropriate amount to pay the taxi driver is the amount shown on the meter plus a tip."
(7)	"The taxi driver is trying to cheat me."	"He just asked me for 16 pesos."	"The proper amount to apy the driver in the above case is 10 pesos."
(8)	"I heard wrong. He must have said Mario instead of Maria."	"It sounded like he said his name was Jose Maria Sanchez when he introduced himself."	"Maria is a girl's name and is never used for males."
(9)	"They do not treat me like an equal member of the family."	"The senora would not give me a key to the house."	"All young adult members of a family have a key to the house."
(10)	"Maria and Tulia are not concerned with correct table manners."	"They always have both hands visible when they are eating at a formal dinner."	"When eating at a formal dinner, the proper place for the left hand when not in use is in the lap."
(11)	"Ramon is a wolf!"	"Ramon was getting very fresh with me at the dance."	"Any man is a wolf if he makes sexual advances toward a girl who has not indicated her interest in this direction. I have not indicated any such interest here at the dance."

Chart B
(continued)

	CONCLUSION	MINOR PREMISE	MAJOR PREMISE
(12)	"I am living in a Colombian boarding house."	"The teenagers here address the two adults as 'senor' and 'senora'."	"Teenage children in a middleclass family do not address their parents as 'sir' and 'ma'am'."
(13)	"In my case there will be no problem if I can fill in only one surname on the matriculation card."	"The matricular cards ask for my full name."	"Even though all Colombians have two surnames, I have only one because I am an American."
(14)	"The taxi driver is not interested in our safety."	"The taxi driver did not stop at any of the red traffic lights after 2:00 a.m."	"It is always a safe thing for a driver to stop at a red light in the early morning hours even though there is no traffic."
(15)	"My host family will not mind if I wear slacks when I go to mass with them."	"Some Colombian women wear slacks to church and there were no complaints."	"As long as I do as Colombians do, my behavior will be acceptable to my Colombian host."
(16)	"The senora is selfishly keeping the TV set from me."	"The only TV set in the house is in the senora's bedroom."	"It would not be appropriate for me to enter the senora's bedroom to watch television."
(17)	"Colombian university students have a light academic load."	"The Colombian students don't have any homework and also have no problems with the language like I do."	"I am taking a full load of 17 hours of class per week in the Colombian university, and even though I have some problems with the language I still have some spare time."

Chart B
(continued)

	CONCLUSION	MINOR PREMISE	MAJOR PREMISE
(18)	"My senora will sooner or later tell me exactly when breakfast is served."	"The senora told me to just come down for breakfast at any time I want."	"There is a time and place where all members of the family eat breakfast together."
(19)	"My senora will not be embarrassed."	"The only mess I make in the house is in my own bedroom!"	"My bedroom is a private place not open to public inspection."
(20)	"That Colombian customer at the bank is a rude person."	"While I was waiting to get my money, he butted in ahead of me to give his check to the teller."	"If a bank is to serve the customers efficiently, they should line up and take turns getting their checks cashed."

Other conclusions were in the form of judgments regarding the nature of the social setting in which they were participating. For example, American (3) falsely concludes that he was not living with a Colombian family but in a boarding house. Number (5) makes an incorrect judgment regarding his status in the host family.

Other conclusions regarded character traits and motivations of the Colombian with whom the American had interacted. For example, American (7) wrongly concludes that the taxi driver was trying to cheat him. In number (10) the children in the host family are in fact sticklers for etiquette. In number (11) we see the typical gringa's conclusion that Colombian boys are wolves.

It is important to keep in mind that these and many similar fallacious conclusions become the major premises for further miscommunications.

This list could have been expanded considerably by giving the examples of the Colombians' false conclusions which focused mainly on the American's expectations, motivations, and attitudes.

C. Some Results of Miscommunication

We were impressed with the basic evidence that very small misunderstandings over apparently trivial matters had a cumulative effect upon the Colombians' judgment of the basic character of their norteamericano guest with whom they had interacted for several months. Such specific observations as "they don't make their beds,' "they don't keep their rooms orderly," "they don't dress appropriately for the occasion," "they don't greet people properly", "they are disorderly in their personal appearance," "they don't bathe often," and "they smell bad at times" became the basis for more general judgments of the American's character such as "they expect special care and attention," "they are

generally thoughtless of others," "they don't care about their reputation among Colombians," and "they think they are superior." The percentage of Colombian host senoras who agreed with these statements is given in Tables 3 and 4 which follow.

Colombians' Images of Americans

Table 3 Negative Images of Americans

		Percent of Colombians agreeing
1.	"They do not make beds well."	75%
2.	"They are generally thoughtless of others."	65%
3.	"They think they are superior."	63%
4.	"They do not keep their rooms orderly."	60%
5.	"They do not dress appropriately."	55%
6.	"They do not greet people properly."	55%
7.	"They do not care about their reputation among Colombians."	52%
8.	"They expect special care and attention."	48%
9.	"Their hair is not well groomed."	42%
10.	"They do not bathe frequently enough."	39%
11.	"They are disorderly in personal appearance."	37%
12.	"They smell bad at times."	27%

Table 4 Positive Images of Americans

1.	"They rarely arrive late for an appointment."	98%
2.	"They are generally people you can trust."	92%
3.	"In general, they are very honest."	90%
4.	"They do not always show off their money."	81%
5.	"They study a lot when they are in Colombia."	77%
6.	"They introduce their friends when they should."	82%
7.	"They do not tend to make promises they do not keep."	77%
8.	"They dc not try to give more advice than they should."	80%
9.	"They do not set a bad example for Colombians their own age."	70%

Table 4
(continued)

10.	"They bring gifts on occasions when they should."	75%
11.	"They are not anti-Catholic."	60%
12.	"They have enough respect for older people."	65%

D. Subject Data Items

The findings listed below have been sent to the Institute of International Studies of the U. S. Office of Education periodically over the past two years. All of the items are currently available through Antioch College.

(1) Initial Immersion in the Foreign Culture (48 pages)

A description of some of the non-linguistic barriers and Colombianismos encountered by North Americans in the first 24 hours of their stay in Bogota, Colombia.

(2) Spanish Personal Names: As Barriers to Communication between Latin Americans and North Americans (142 pages)

Shows how the lack of a thorough knowledge of Spanish names and the naming system caused confusion in cross-cultural conversations. Explains the salient differences between the Spanish and the English systems and includes a frequency analysis of 1000 of the most common given names and 1000 of the most common surnames of 10 capital cities. Also, the derivation and English equivalent are given for the 100 most common given names.

(3) Contrastive Analysis of Cultural Differences which Inhibit Communication between Americans and Colombians (34 pages)

This is the Final Report (June, 1968) for the first year of the contract. This report describes the guiding theoretical framework, the methods of participation, observation, interviewing and questionnaires used by the bi-national field research team, and some of the major findings during that first year.

(4) American Guests in Colombian Homes: A Study of Cross-Cultural Communication (312 pages)

Detailed results and interpretations of an empirical study of the interaction between North Americans (students and Peace Corps Trainees) and their host families in Bogota, Colombia. Shows the sources of misunderstanding and the resulting attitudes in the Colombian hosts.

(5) Cross-Cultural Encounter in a Latin American Bank (48 pages)

This is a sample Cross-Cultural Communication Packet (CCCP) containing the script of the Mini-Drama illustrating the communication problems encountered by Peace Corps Trainees trying to cash a check in a bank in Bogota, a discussion leaders' guide for each of the five scenes in the Mini-Drama, the text for the slide-lecture and the objective test to be used to evaluate the effectiveness of the CCCP.

To provide a more detailed view of the above reports, we have included the tables of contents of each in Appendix B. Even though the main focus was upon the silent-assumptions as barriers to communication, we did include some linguistic factors in the form of colombianismos in the first unit and a frequency count of Spanish personal names in the second unit listed above.

(6) Tape-recordings

(a) Mini-drama: A five-scene tape-recorded dramatization with narrator, sound effects and background music has been done of the Cross-Cultural Encounter in a Latin American Bank. It lasts 15 minutes and is available at Antioch College for the cost of making a copy.

(b) Cross-cultural discussions: Two tape-recorded (unrehearsed) discussions in Spanish between North American and Latin American students dealing with "The Role of Women in Colombia" and "The Role of the Church in Colombia." Each is approximately 1-1/2 hours in length.

The recorded discussions represent the initial attempt at a new strategy for studying the problem by first tape-recording the original cross-cultural communication and then interviewing the participants about it later.

VII. IMPLICATIONS OF THE FINDINGS

A. Theoretical Implications

Here we will not attempt to detail any of the theoretical, methodological, or practical implications of the findings but will merely outline some of the convictions gained from the experience which will strongly influence the direction of the writer's future attempts to study cross-cultural communication.

(1) Importance of silent assumptions: The findings have demonstrated beyond any reasonable doubt that one potential factor in cross-cultural miscommunication is the conflict between the silent assumptions of the interacting parties. This is not to deny the importance of the linguistic, paralinguistic, kinesic or proxemic dimensions of communication, but to strongly assert the incompleteness of all of these approaches combined.

(2) Clear detectable patterns exist: Much of the impressionistic writings regarding the importance of the differences in the non-linguistic aspects of two cultures for communication between them tends to emphasize rather abstract, intangible, and somewhat mysterious aspects of the ethos, worldview, philosophical groundings, or basic values of the cultures. These may have importance which we were unable to detect with our rather crude and exploratory methods. However, this research has clearly demonstrated that much of the non-linguistic component in miscommunication was due to a profound lack of knowledge of institutionalized interaction patterns internalized by members of the other culture. We find such mundane items as the system of alphabetizing full names, the rules of the game in cashing a check, the place where the television set should be located, how to get hot water for a bath, and many other common operational behavior patterns can be the

cause of much miscommunication.

(3) Dissonance of means not ends: Much of the discussion on cultural differences emphasizes differences in basic values. The implication here is that if there is conflict or miscommunication between two culture groups the cause will always be found in the clash in basic values. Of course, this can be the case in some instances. In this case increased communication might increase tension or conflict. However, the writer has been profoundly impressed with the amount of confusion, miscommunication and conflict generated in situations where there was agreement between the Colombians and Americans on the basic values involved. For example, the American and the Colombian liked a bank which could efficiently serve the customer. Both parties placed a high value on sociability, both place a positive value on politeness. Even though there may have been some difference in the amount of value placed upon such human virtues, we did not find this difference to be the problem. In most of the situations we studied we found that the American did not know how efficiency could be attained in the Colombian bank, he did not know how to get a hot bath, he could not discover how to show his generosity or appreciation to the host family without unintentionally threatening his host or usurping his position in some subtle way.

To put the idea in a different way we have emerged from this experience with the conviction that there are two important dimensions of differences between two value systems. One is the differences in the relative amounts of value placed upon the different human virtues or vices and the other is the differences in patterns of application of these virtues. For example, two cultures might place the same value

(for example, in terms of measured semantic differential) on the abstract idea of honesty. Yet these same two cultures could vary widely on their silent assumptions about when, where, and how who should be honest with whom about what! This experience has served to emphasize in the writer's mind the greater importance of the differences in the pattern of value-application for generating misunderstanding.

Repeatedly our findings suggested that the participant in cross-cultural communication mistakenly attributed different values (with implications that they were inferior) to the other person when this was not appropriate. For example, the Colombians would feel that American students were lazy, that American women were without morals, or that Americans placed no value on family life, all on the basis of misinterpretations of information they had received either directly or indirectly. Perhaps some of the literature on comparative culture, with emphasis on the major importance of basic value differences is a product of this type of misunderstanding of the other culture.

(4) Circular interaction between miscommunication and attitudes: The emphasis of this study has been upon the search for conflicting silent assumptions in the syllogistic model of meaning, rather than upon the reasoning process involved in arriving at the conclusions. Nevertheless, it became apparent that ethnocentric attitudes in some cases tended to lead to incorrect conclusions even if the major and minor premises were correct. Also, attitudes distorted the conclusions by enforcing selectivity of the initial observations and by distorting the memory regarding these observations. Thus, biased information was fed into a cumulative message. The syllogistic model did not only apply to specific completed discrete interactions but also

the minor premise tended to become a cumulative repository of messages upon which more generalized conclusions were based. Then the conclusions drawn in this way became the silent assumptions of the major premise used to interpret future messages. This vicious circle was a factor in the progressive social isolation of some of the Americans. In some cases the isolation from Colombian culture was not so obvious because of the continued association with a certain type of (often self-selected) Colombian who was rebelling against his own culture or had something to gain by associating with the Americans on their own terms.

B. Practical Implications

In reviewing the total span of the project the writer has emerged with some clear convictions about preparing people for cross-cultural communications.

(1) Contact, communication and understanding: It became clear before the end of this project that we cannot (for practical purposes of building international understanding) assume that to put Americans in the foreign culture is necessarily going to lead to mutual understanding through communication. What happens is not that simple. Depending on the American-Colombian role relationship certain new information is going to be correctly interpreted by both sides. At the same time the communication can be contributing to another set of false conclusions due to the misinterpretations of each other's actions and words.

(2) Miscommunication can be reduced by knowledge: It is also clear at the present time that the risks of the misinterpretations can be substantially reduced by one's simple descriptive knowledge of the

rules of the game applied to the interaction in various situations in the other culture. This can happen to a great extent without changing the American's attitudes or increasing his skill in the foreign language.

(3) Need to combine linguistic and non-linguistic factors: If our primary interest is to prepare Americans to more successfully communicate with members of another culture we must work toward including more of the non-linguistic information as an integral part of learning the language. To become fluent in the language while remaining ignorant of the other behavior patterns in the foreign culture is at best inadequate preparation and at worst is a guarantee of increased miscommunication between cultures. The American who can fluently tell the host country national why he thinks he is rude may be more of an international relations problem than the tourist who has mastered only a few phrases and throws himself on the mercy of the host country nationals. There seems to be a strong tendency on the part of Colombians to make more allowances for the foreignness of an American who is not fluent in the language. If the American's Spanish is excellent, particularly his pronunciation, the Colombian is more likely to assume that the American's social errors are intentional expressions of arrogance.

For these reasons it is very important to upgrade our knowledge of the general effects of the non-linguistic factors in communication and of the specific silent assumptions which are vital in those situations in which we will participate.

(4) Dangers of the blind leading the blind: Many programs in the United States which send Americans abroad use in some degree the strategy of having returnees from abroad "tell it like it is" in the

foreign country. This practice is common in the Peace Corps training programs and in university orientation programs for students going to study abroad. The danger is that much of the "information" given by the returnees consists of misinterpretation of what he saw and heard. This procedure can compound the error by crystallizing the ethnocentric distortions of communication.

This research project has demonstrated that there are many things that a majority of the American guests in Colombian homes, for example, would agree upon which are totally untrue despite the fact that their conclusions were based upon three to six months of living in the home. For example, many though that it was the maid's responsibility to make the guest's bed. They thought the senora did not expect them to take a hot bath daily. They did not know they were expected to keep their towel out of the bathroom after it had been used and to hang it in the morning sun. They did not know that keeping one hand under the table in their lap while they ate dinner would make many of the Colombians uneasy.

The problem is to (a) discover which of the Americans' observations are correct, and (b) which vital observations they failed to make. This research strongly suggests that any attempt by Americans to describe cultural patterns cannot be validated by merely obtaining a majority agreement among American observers. As a minimum the conclusions should be checked by some of the knowledgeable members of the host culture. Even here we must be careful to select a member of the host culture who knows about the particular cultural pattern in question.

(5) Possibility of more general orientation: The more we experience the difficulties in discovering and verifying the silent assumptions of a foreign culture, the more we realize that we cannot keep Americans

from going abroad until we have mapped out the non-linguistic patterns of the cultures just as we have developed grammars, dictionaries and learning laboratories for learning the language.

This research suggests a type of training which goes beyond supplying the specific facts regarding the hidden assumptions of the foreign culture. There are three different facets of training which would help each American become more proficient in making these discoveries for himself and to reduce the danger of his drawing false conclusions from his experiences abroad.

(a) Conceptual models: Nothing is more practical than a conceptual model which will sensitize the person to the basic nature of cross-cultural communication. For a model to actually be useful it must have been inductively derived from direct observation of cross-cultural interaction. The syllogistic model of meaning developed in this project would be one such conceptual model. It calls attention to the much neglected covert aspects of the situational setting including the silent assumptions which are situationally oriented and the attitudes of the participants toward that situation.

(b) Skill in recognizing concrete symptoms: To apply the model in situ the American must gain some basic skills and discipline in recognizing the symptomatic manifestations of miscommunication in himself and others with whom he is interacting. This is mainly a matter of recognizing a wide variety of symptoms which in common sense thinking, with the help of ethnocentric distortions, are frequently given a label which hides their true nature.

(c) Skills in questioning and observing: Once a person recognizes that he is having communication difficulties, he needs to have some special strategies, tactics and techniques for correcting or for pre-

venting further miscommunications. He must understand how to ask a question in a way which will obtain the needed information rather than a polite response. This study has shown that Americans abroad sincerely attempting to discover how to "do as the Romans do" frequently unwittingly use a "loaded question" which tends to distort the response in any culture.

In the use of direct observation we found two common errors committed by the Americans: (a) they misinterpreted what they "saw" because of their inappropriate silent assumptions, and (b) they interpreted their observations correctly but erred in not taking into account the role and status of the Colombian they observed. Typically, they would say, "I don't see what is wrong with my taking the kids in the family to a movie on Sunday afternoon; the <u>senor</u> in the family does this all the time." They overlook the fact that he did this precisely because he was the father in the family, not a guest!

(6) <u>Practical value of concrete descriptions</u>: This project has shown that we can discover and clearly describe patterns of dissonant silent assumptions underlying miscommunication in cross-cultural situations. We found, for example, that the superficial understanding that most Americans had gained about Spanish personal names in a course in Spanish did <u>not</u> include the kinds of specific information, the illustrations of the implications of the pattern, nor tests of the student's functional understanding of the pattern as we have done in the unit of <u>Spanish Personal Names</u> which could have been entitled "The Spanish Personal Naming System". This information is useful throughout Spanish America. Similarly, the unit on <u>Cross-Cultural Encounter in a Latin American Bank</u> is applicable throughout Latin America and other parts of the world.

Other patterns studied were more limited in their applicability yet served to call attention to the variations which do exist even in the urban middle class. Differences in such mundane assumptions as those governing the use of the bathroom, bedroom and living room can be the cause of much miscommunication between American guests and Colombian hosts which is, in the final analysis, a microcosm of the cross-cultural relations between the U. S. and Latin America.

(7) Resistances to practical application: We have found in some quarters a resistance to using such obviously relevant information as that given in the units on Spanish Personal Names and Cross-Cultural Encounter in a Latin American Bank. One type of resistance is a false security in the belief that "we already know about that". For example, we discovered quite by accident that some of the Cultural Affairs Officers in the U. S. Embassies of 10 different Latin American cities did not understand how to alphabetize a full name in Spanish. This was discovered when we sent the rough draft of the unit on Spanish Personal Names to the Cultural Affairs Officers in Bogota, Quito, Lima, Santiago, Buenos Aires, Montevideo, Asuncion, Caracas, La Paz and Mexico City. We asked (a) for any corrections or changes which they felt should be made, and (b) who they thought could make good use of the materials. We received replies from seven of the ten. Of the seven four pointed out that we had made a basic error in describing the system used for alphabetizing full proper names. Of these four only one proceeded to explain the "correct way" which was actually clearly incorrect. Then in response to the question "Who could make good use of the information" the Officer suggested that "philology departments in large universities would certainly find some value in it". This was shocking in view of the fact

that one cannot find names in a telephone directory, use the index of a book, find a book in the library without this understanding. It is not surprising then that many of the Americans working at this embassy felt that the city's telephone book was a "fiasco with many of the names out of order".

We do not know whether the other Cultural Affairs Officers also had the same misconceptions regarding the alphabetization of Spanish personal names in Latin America. To make matters worse some of the Spanish teachers in American colleges and universities have informed me that my explanation was in error. Apparently the system which they advocate is practiced only in Spain, not in the western hemisphere. Perhaps this is the Cultural Affairs Officers' source of error.

All this raises a question as to how a diplomatic career officer with fifteen years experience in Latin America could not have discovered the error.

Another type of resistance is purely bureaucratic. It is most evident in the type of organizatio which sends Americans abroad to several different countries but is not strongly identified with the field operations abroad. In this case there is a danger, for example, that if the materials were adopted by the Latin American section it would threaten the prestige of the African and Asian sections which have no such directly relevant materials to offer in orienting their people to go abroad. Instead they often defent "sensitivity training", "cultural history", or some other approach which does not depend upon concrete knowledge of the daily behavior patterns of the host culture. to prepare an American to go abroad. Such a system has the virtue of being uniformly applicable to everyone going abroad to any country to carry out any type of project. In some cases the attraction of this

neat uniformity (which passes as efficiency) is overpowering. There has been noticeably more enthusiasm from organization who either (a) operate only in Latin America, (b) are in the business of receiving and working with North Americans after they arrive in Latin America, or (c) those which send Americans to many places abroad but whose organizational structure does not permit personnel dealing with other areas than Latin America to influence the decision on training materials for Latin America. In some cases this initial resistance was overcome and in others it has not yet been resolved.

Fortunately, these types of resistances to the practical use of the materials have not been general since many organizations involved in the selection and training of Americans to work, and study in Latin America have welcomed these materials with enthusiasm. More information on this is given in the next section on "Dissemination and Use of Results."

(8) High-impact audio-visual materials: Even though there is a grwoing awareness of the importance of the understanding of the non-linguistic patterns in cross cultural communication, it is still evident that there is a need for more high-impact audio-visual materials for "selling" the importance of the general problem and to provide some of the specific solutions.

With this in mind we have produced one prototype of the Crocc-Cultural Communication Packet (CCCP) which includes a MINI-DRAMA, DISCUSSION GUIDE, SLIDE-TAPE LECTURE and a PRE- and POST-TEST. This is the Cross-Cultural Encounter in a Latin American Bank which we hope will be the first of a series of such dramatizations.

It is clear that it takes some finesse to use the media to increase

the learner's sensitivity to reality rather than merely entertain him at the expense of "those ugly Americans" in the Mini-drama.

VIII. DISSEMINATION AND USE OF RESULTS

A. Tape-Recordings

We have not distributed any of the tape recordings described in the "Findings" section of this report, because their existence had not been announced previous to this report. However, copies will be available at cost for interest organizations.

B. Written Materials

Table 5 below shows the number of copies of each subject data report produced to date. Most of these copies have already been disseminated directly by Antioch College

Table 5

Number of Copies Produced

		Number of Copies	
		Original offset run	Second offset run
(1)	Initial Immersion in the Foreign Culture	200	300
(2)	Spanish Personal Names: As Barriers to Communication between Latin Americans and North Americans	150	150
(3)	American Guests in Colombian Homes	150	200
(4)	Contrastive Analysis of Cultural Differences which Inhibit Communication between Americans and Colombians	50	a
(5)	Discovering Silent Assumptions which Block Cross-Cultural Communication	100	b
(6)	Cross-Cultural Encounter in a Latin American Bank	100	c

a - This was the technical report for the first year of the contract.

b - This was given as a paper before the American Sociological Association Meeting in San Francisco, August, 1969.

c - We have not yet distributed all of the original run since this was completed only a week ago.

(1) Actively Interested Organizations: The number of copies produced and distributed by Antioch College is not indicative of the actual number of people or organizations using the materials, since some of the more actively interested groups are reproducing shortened versions of the materials for use by their own students or other organization members, or they use the materials as lecture materials rather than distributing it in written form. This is true of the 16 organizations listed below.

All of these organizations are engaged in cross-cultural communication in one of four ways: (a) sending Americans to Latin America to work, to study or to live with Latin American families, (b) receiving Americans in Latin America for one or more of these purposes, (c) teaching courses on the problems of cross-cultural communication, or (d) teaching courses dealing with the Latin American culture.

The American Association of Teachers of Spanish and Portuguese
Wichita State University
Wichita, Kansas 67208

American Field Service
International Scholarships
Latin American Coordination
Apartado 4507
San Jose, Costa Rica

Central Intelligence Agency
Dr. Anthony Marc Lewis
Instructor
9615 Sutherland Road
Silver Springs, Maryland 20901

The Monterey Institute of Foreign Studies
Post Office Box 1978
425 Van Buren Street
Monterey, California 93940

Peace Corps Intern Group
New York State College of Agriculture
Cornell University
Ithaca, New York 14850

Canadian University Service Overseas
151 Slater
Ottawa 4, Ontario
Canada

Foreign Study Programs
Syracuse University
335 Comstock Avenue
Syracuse, New York 13210

In addition to these 16, another 90 organizations have received one or more copies of the materials and are listed in Appendix C.

In addition to the distribution directly from Antioch College, some requests have been made for either microfilm or hard copy from the Educational Research Information Center (ERIC) in Washington, D. C.

(2) Estimation of amount of use: It is impossible to obtain any accurate estimate of the numbers of Americans currently being exposed to some of the findings in this study because, as the appended list of organizations shows, the market is scattered and involves mainly people with a practical interest in preparing Americans to go to Latin America. However, we can make a fairly clear estimate of its use within the GLCA system in the United States and within other organizations that either send Americans to or received them in the one city of Bogota, Colombia.

For example, the GLCA Latin America Center in Bogota, the International Studies at St. Louis University, the Centro Latino-Americano de Relaciones Interculturales at the Javeriana University, the Foreign

Students' Office of the University of the Andes, are four programs which collectively send over 250 Americans annually to Bogota alon4. All of these organizations are using materials produced by this project as a regular part of their orientation.

Whether this is 250 out of 400, 1,000 or 2,000 per year we do not know. If the Peace Corps were to use some of these materials in all of their separate training programs for the Latin American-bound Volunteer, this would increase the use by approximately another 1,000 per year. We do know that certain training programs like the Peace Corps Intern Group at Cornell University use the materials.

Obviously it would be impractical to trace the use of these materials, which are clearly in the public domain as they trickle through such organizations as the American Association of Teachers of Spanish and Portuguese, the American Field Service, scattered Peace Corps Training programs, and university foreign study programs.

(3) Future possibilities for dissemination: It is clear that the major interest in the materials in their present form has come from organizations sending and receiving Americans going into Latin America to work or study. Both of these categories of Americans are increasing in numbers.

Another larger potential market for these ideas is in social science courses on International Relations, Cross-Cultural Communication, Latin America Area Studies, and basic courses in psychology, sociology, and anthropology. Even though widespread use of this type cannot be anticipated for the materials in their present form, we know that several professors of Spanish and sociology with whom the writer has had previous contact in the 12 GLCA colleges are using some of the

materials for illustrative materials in their lectures.

Another potential market is the educated layman interested in the general nature of cross-cultural communication problems.

The writer is currently seeking a strategy for finding the time needed to re-cast the materials for both a more theoretically oriented academic use and a more popular market.

IX. SEMINAL EFFECTS ON OTHER PROJECTS

The only seminal effects we can trace at this time are mainly those within the GLCA consortium of colleges in Ohio, Indiana, and Michigan.

A. Integration into language instruction

Several of the Spanish professors within the GLCA have volunteered the information that they are using materials in their courses. More important is their growing feeling that more materials should be developed for language instruction which integrates the linguistic and the non-linguistic aspects of communication.

B. Building a two-way cultural bridge

For 15 years Antioch College has had several programs of study abroad. For the past 10 years the Special Educational Services Center of the College has administered a combination seminar and work program for engineers, teachers and businessmen from abroad. Never before have they tried to build a seminar on cross-cultural communication which would integrate the arriving foreigners with the American students preparing to go abroad. The International Education Committee at Antioch has undertaken the task to design such a seminar building on the information and experience gained in this project for the U.S.O.E.

C. Field strategy for comparative urban studies

The three GLCA colleges responsible for administering the programs for the Association in Beirut, Bogota and Tokyo are planning to have students and professors collaborate in some comparative studies of urban problems in these three cities. Some of the conceptual framework and methodology developed in this project will be adapted to sensitize participants in this program to the problems of communication, and obser-

vation in a foreign city.

D. Black-White Cross-Cultural Communication

Antioch College is seeking funds to study the conflicting silent assumptions underlying the black-white communication in the educational setting. To recognize the fact that there are black and white sub-cultures which vary in both the linguistic and non-linguistic patterns is an important step in dealing with the race relations problem. We do not assume that all of the conflict between blacks and whites is simply due to miscommunication, but there is a certain amount of misinterpretation which frustrates good intentions and blocks concerted action toward more perfect equality of opportunity. For this reason, we might expect the amount of conflict to temporarily increase with the greater amount of contact involved in desegregation until we remove the sources of miscommunication.

It would be premature to speculate on the extent to which wither the conceptual framework, methodology, facts, skills and insights developed in this research project can be successfully transferred to such projects as the four listed above, but there is no doubt about the fact that the cross-fertilization is already producing results.

Appendix A: Technical Progress Report No. 9

The period covered in this Final Technical Progress Report has been a no-cost extension of the contract involving only part-time for the Project Director after all of the clerical staff had been discontinued as explained in Technical Progress Report No. 8 (July 1, 1969 to September 30, 1969).

I. MAJOR ACTIVITIES DURING THIS REPORTING PERIOD

The major activity was the development of a sample Cross-Cultural Communication Packet (CCCP) entitled "Cross-Cultural Encounter in a Latin American Bank". The purpose was to develop a prototype CCCP to present to the Peace Corps and other organizations with a potential interest in supporting the development of such audio-visual materials based on the information collected, analyzed and reported under this U. S. O. E. contract. Since this CCCP was conceived as the first of a possible series, we were interested in testing the feasibility of using local talent in acting, directing, sound effects, photography and art, and to determine the approximate cost of production of subsequent units in the series.

For this prototype CCCP we selected and dramatized a cross-cultural interaction situation in which an American Peace Corps Trainee is trying to cash a check in a bank in Bogota. The CCCP consists of four parts:

(a) Tape-recorded MINI-DRAMA with sound effects (in five scenes requiring 15 minutes)

(b) DISCUSSION GUIDE for each of the five scenes

(c) TAPE-SLIDE LECTURE which explains and generalizes upon the case presented in the MINI-DRAMA

(d) POST-TEST to determine the listener's grasp of the facts and principles presented

(1) Writing the original script: The script was written in five scenes:

Scene 1 - Cashing a Check in the Bank

Scene 2 - Americans' Conversation on the Way Back from the Bank

Scene 3 - A Colombian Interviewing the Bank Teller

Scene 4 - An American Interviewing the Colombian Interviewer

Scene 5 - Interview Continued

The script was based upon the research team's observations and interviews in Colombia with American Peace Corps Trainees and with Colombian bank tellers, customers and managers.

(2) Classroom testing of the script: At first we had hoped that the script could be used without the expense of making a tape-recording (with actors, narrator, music, and sound effects) by simply having the participants in the seminar read the parts while the others observed. This attempts was not successful for a number of reasons. First, it was difficult to find participants who could act the parts adequately without any rehearsal, second, the audience was distracted by the fact that they knew the actors personally, and third, it was discovered that without the benefit of costumes the viewers were confused regarding which characters were supposed to be Colombians and which were Americans. Therefore, this type of presentation was less successful than simply having each person read the script to himself.

Through the semi-structured discussion of the script on a scene-by-scene basis in the seminar, we were able to tentatively develop a more structured Discussion Leader's Guide.

(3) Re-write the script: The classroom testing not only indicated that we could not depend upon impromptu readings of the lines, but also that the script itself had to be developed in more detail, clarified at certain points and broken into five scenes.

(4) Tape-record the MINI-DRAMA: The revised script was used as a basis for a tape-recorded dramatization using amateur actors. In order to distinguish the American from the Colombian characters, we selected Colombians with considerable Spanish accent (but with clear enunciation in English) for the Colombian characters and American students for the American characters. Sound effects (traffic sounds, radio programs in Spanish, bank noises and muffled background conversation in Spanish) were used along with the dialogue in English. Even though this first attempt had many flaws we were able to determine more precisely the level of talent needed and the costs of production.

(5) Classroom re-testing of Mini-drama and Discussion Guide: The tape-recorded mini-drama proved to be much more effective than the impromptu readings. We were also able to obtain suggestions and ideas for revising the musical interludes to set the appropriate modd and to detect points at which the dialogue-sound effect combination was confusing.

(6) Another re-write of the script: On the basis of the presentation and subsequent discussions we were able to improve the script and the Discussion Leader's Guide. This is the final form presented with this Report.

(7) Developing a Slide-Lecture Text: On the basis of the explanations which were needed during or after the discussion sessions, we developed a tentative script for the lecture designed to be presented after the discussions of the Mini-Drama. Time ran short before we

could develop a set of slides to accompany the lecture. Since the text would have to be re-written depending upon the exact photos and artwork included in the slide series, we were content to leave the text for the lecture in the rather rought form presented with the Report.

(8) Writing the Objective Examination: A 25-item test which can be used as both a pre- and post-test was developed to evaluate the impact of the CROSS-CULTURAL COMMUNICATION PACKET on the group as a whole and to measure the relative amount of change from one student to another.

Only the written aspect of the CCCP is included with this report since we intend to make a new tape using the revised script, some better actors, and improved sound effects. We are currently seeking funds to complete some of the art and photographic work involved in the color-slide lecture.

II. DEPARTURES FROM THE ORIGINAL PLAN

According the the Technical Progress Report No. 8 (for the period ending September 30, 1969) I had planned to write an instructional unit on "The American Student in the Colombian University". After some exploration of the amount and complexity of the relevant data it was clear that I would not have time to finish a thorough presentation of the many cross-cultural problems we discovered in that area. Also, after talks with people in the U. S. O. E. it seemed that the probability of obtaining further financial support from the Office of Education to finish the write-up on the American Student was very small. In principle I agreed that it would be reasonable to expect organizations with a more specific interest in Latin America such as the Peace Corps to finance this final audio-visual phase of producing the instructional materials. With this in mind I diverted my efforts from the use of the data on the university stiuation to a much simpler "Cross-Cultural

Encounter in a Latin American Bank" which had the double virtue of being simple enough to handle in the time available and being more easily converted into the dramatic audio-visual form which could be used to demonstrate the idea to the Peace Corps and other potentially interested organizations.

III. FUTURE ACTIVITIES IN THE NEXT REPORTING PERIOD

Since this is the Final Report on this contract, there will be no future contract period to plan.

IV. CAPITAL EQUIPMENT

The total equipment budget in the two-year contract was about $850 which was used to purchase four tape recorders and one portable photo-copier. We used $749 worth of equipment in Bogota, Colombia for over a year and sold this for $345 there rather than shipping it air freight back to this country where they would have brought a much lower price. Upon return to the United States in September, 1968, we purchased one tape-recorder. This tape recorder and about #30 worth of miscellaneous electronic accessories is the total capital equipment on hand from this two-year contract. I assume that the final accounting on this should be done in the final fiscal report.

V. STAFF SUMMARY

Since August 1, 1969, I have been working part-time with no regular staff assistance except for typing of the dry-run and final versions of the instructional materials, the Progress Report and the Final Report. The production since the last Progress Report represent two man-months salary.

Appendix B: Tables of Contents of Reports & Subject Data

Copies of any of these Project Reports can be obtained at cost either directly from Dr. Raymond L. Gorden, International Studies, Antioch College, Yellow Springs, Ohio 45387 or in microfilm or hardcopy from Educational Research Information Center, Regional Office Building, 400 Maryland Avenue, S. W., Washington, D. C. 20202. Copies of the tape-recorded MINI-DRAMA of the "Cross-Cultural Encounter in a Latin American Bank" can be obtained for $5.00 from the Antioch College address.

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(5) Cross-Cultural Encounter in a Latin American Bank

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Appendix C: List of Organizations Receiving Findings

I. University Connected Latin American Programs

Latin American Studies
Azusa Pacific College
Highway 66 at Citrus Ave.
Azusa, California

Latin American Bible College
La Puente, California

Hispanic American Studies
Stanford University
Palo Alto, California

Latin American Studies Center
University of California
Berkeley, California

Latin American Center
University of California
West Los Angeles, California

Latin American Studies
University of Southern California
Los Angeles, California

Chapman College
University of the Seven Seas
Orange, California

Latin American Studies
Georgetown University
37th and "O" Streets, N. W.
Washington, D. C.

Latin American Area Studies
University of Florida
Gainesville, Florida

Center for Advanced International
Studies; Language and Area
Center for Latin America
University of Miami
Coral Gables, Florida

Latin American Studies
University of Minnesota
Minneapolis, Minnesota

Latin American Studies
St. Louis University
St. Louis, Missouri

Latin American Studies
American University
Massachusetts and Nebraska Avenues
Washington, D. C.

International Relations
Catholic University of America
Washington, D. C.

Center for Latin American Studies
University of Illinois
1207 W. Oregon St.
Urbana, Illinois

Center for Latin American Studies
University of Notre Dame
South Bend, Indiana

Office of Inter-American Studies
Harvard University
Cambridge, Massachusetts

Center for Latin American Studies
Michigan State University
East Lansing, Michigan

Elbert Covell College
University of the Pacific
Stockton, California 95204

International Library Information
Information Center
University of Pittsburgh
Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania

International Affairs
University of Denver
Denver, Colorado

Midwest Universities Consortium
for International Activities, Inc.
c/o University of Illinois
Urbana, Illinois

International Relations
610 E. Fayette St.
Syracuse, N. Y.

Institute of Latin American Studies
University of North Carolina
Chapel Hill, North Carolina

Latin American Studies
University of Nebraska
901 N. 17th St.
Lincoln, Nebraska

Latin American Studies
University of Omaha
Omaha, Nebraska

Committee on Latin American Studies
Princeton University
Princeton, New Jersey

Latin American Studies
Columbia University
Morningside Heights
New York, New York

Latin American Studies
Cornell University
Ithaca, New York

Latin American Institute
292 Madison Avenue
New York, New York

Inter-American Studies
State University of New York
135 Western Avenue
Albany, New York

Latin American Studies
University of Oregon
Eugene, Oregon

Graduate Center for Latin
American Studies
Vanderbilt University
Nashville, Tennessee

Latin American Studies Center
University of Texas
Austin, Texas

International Studies
Washington University
St. Louis, Missouri 63130

Language and Area Center for
Latin American Studies
University of Wisconsin
Madison, Wisconsin

Latin American Studies
Yale University
New Haven, Connecticut

II. Business, Trade and Governmental Organizations

American Institute for Foreign Trade
Tucson, Arizona

Business Council for
International Understanding
420 Lexington Avenue
New York, New York

Center for Applied Linguistics
1717 Massachusetts Ave., N. W.
Washington, D. C. 20036

Chamber of Commerce of the Americas
345 N. E. Second Avenue
Miami, Florida

Council for Latin America
c/o David Rockefeller, Chairman
Chase Manhattan Bank
Chase Manhattan Plaza
New York, New York

Council for Inter-American Cooperation
10 Rockefeller Plaza
New York, New York

Council of Higher Education
in the American Republics
c/o Institute of
International Education
809 United Nations Plaza
New York, New York

Council on International Educational
and Cultural Affairs
U. S. State Department
Washington, D. C. 20202

Council on International Educational
Exchange
179 Broadway
New York, New York

Latin American Industrial
Association in the U. S. A.
161 W. Wisconsin Avenue
Milwaukee, Wisconsin

Defense Language Institute
West Coast Branch
Presidio
Monterey, California

Development Corp. International
1010 16th St., N. W.
Washington, D. C.

Experiment in International Living
Putney, Vermont

Foreign Service Institute
Department of State
Washington, D. C.

Hispanic Foundation
Library of Congress
Washington, D. C.

Hispanic Institute
435 W. 117th St.
New York, New York

Inter-American Library and
Bibliographical Association
Room 450, Main Library
University of Florida
Gainesville, Florida

International Development Services, Inc.
1270 Avenue of the Americas
New York, New York

Institute of International Education
809 United Nations Plaza
New York, New York 10017

Special Operation Research Office
Foreign Area Studies Division
American University
Washington, D. C.

National Association of
Foreign Student Affairs
500 Riverside Drive
New York, New York

Pacific Coast Council on
Latin American Studies
Fresno State College
Fresno, California

Pan American Foundation, Inc.
Box 14424
University Station
Gainesville, Florida

Society for International Development
1346 Connecticut Avenue, N. W.
Washington, D. C. 20036

UNESCO Publications Center, U. S. A.
152 West 42nd Street
New York, New York

U. S. Council of the International
Chamber of Commerce
Lawrence T. Griggs, Dir. of Program
1212 Avenue of the Americas
New York, New York 10036

U. S. Inter-American Council
201 Park Avenue, South
New York, New York